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Four More Gupta-period Copperplate Grants from Bengal

Arlo Griffiths

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Editorial Address

Pratna Samiksha

Centre for Archaeological Studies & Training,
Eastern India, State Archaeological Museum
Old Building, First Floor, 1 Satyen Roy Road
Behala, Kolkata 700 034
email: castei5n@gmail.com

Editor

Sharmi Chakraborty

Founding Editor

Gautam Sengupta

Editorial Assistant

Mithu Karmakar

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State Archaeological Museum
Old Building, First Floor
1 Satyen Roy Road, Behala
Kolkata 700 034
castei5n@gmail.com

Typeset in Baskerville

by Mithu Karmakar

mithu.karma@gmail.com

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barnana95@gmail.com

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EPIGRAPHY

Four More Gupta-period Copperplate Grants from Bengal

ARLO GRIFFITHS

École française d'Extrême-Orient (Paris)

UMR 5189 Histoire et Sources des Mondes Antiques (Lyon)

ABSTRACT: A recent volume of *Pratna Samiksha* (New Series 6, 2015) contained the publication of two land-sale grants relating to the history of ancient Puṇḍravardhana, the first dated to year 159 of the Gupta era and the second dated to year 5 of a king Pradyumnabandhu who must have ruled in the period immediately following the disappearance of Gupta rule in Bengal. This paper will present four further copperplate inscriptions that have recently become available for study, and extend the corpus of Gupta-period land-sale grants from 12 to 16 items. As is the rule in the early epigraphy of Bengal, the grants are composed in Sanskrit. Three of the new plates are rather heavily corroded, but nevertheless largely decipherable, while only a fragment is preserved of the fourth. Among the points of interest in these new documents are several coin terms previously unattested in Bengal, or previously unattested anywhere at all in Indian epigraphy; further occurrences of the toponymic element *gohāli*, here interpreted for the first time as meaning 'hamlet'; possible evidence of territorial extension into southwestern Bengal; and a donation to a group of three Jaina monasteries—the third such event we now have on record in early Bengal—with important implications for the history of Jaina monasticism.

KEYWORDS: Puṇḍravardhana, Bengal, copperplate inscription, Sanskrit, land-sale grant, Jainism, Baigram, Raktamālā, Tāvira, *gohāli*, *kārṣāpaṇa*, *paṇa*, *rūpaka*.

I. Introduction

Preliminary remarks

When in 2015 I published a land-sale grant concerning an estate (*agrahāra*) called 'Major Red Garland' (*mahatī-raktamālā*) in the pages of this journal, I discussed its seal and used as illustration a photo of another copperplate with the same seal. At the time, I was only aware of the existence of that other copperplate but had no information as to where it was preserved, nor any photographs of sufficient quality to decipher much more than its seal legend. Photographs of another plate, this one totally bent so that I did not even begin to contemplate the possibility of its decipherment, were also communicated to me in 2015. In the course of the same year I was contacted by a private collector and requested to decipher the first of these unpublished plates; the same collector acquired the second plate in the course of 2016, and turned out to own already a third Gupta-period plate that was entirely unknown to me.¹ These new inscriptions are land-

sale grants, a type of document characteristic for the epigraphy of Bengal in the Gupta period; such grants are not royal inscriptions, but records, formulated in Sanskrit prose, of a local transaction in which a private party, wishing to make merit, pays local authorities so that a piece of waste land (*khilakṣetra*) can be transferred to a Brahmin or other religious beneficiary.² The purpose of this article is to publish these three new Gupta-period land-sale grants that have become available for study since 2015, along with the hitherto unpublished fragment of a plate of whose existence I became aware only when most of the following pages had already been written. Although this article is not the place for a systematic evaluation of the implications of these texts for prevalent views on the history of early Bengal, I will nonetheless have occasion to single out some historical conclusions to which I have been led by the study of these new documents against the background of a fresh study of the related documents that were known so far.

The corpus of Gupta-period land-sale grants

The following table is a revised and expanded version of the one that was included in my previous article (2015, Table 1: ‘Gupta-period copperplate inscriptions of Bengal’), now bringing to 16 the total number of known land-sale grants dating to the Gupta period.³ Except in cases where the relevant portion is lost or illegible, these records are dated in an unspecified year (*samvat*) which is interpreted by all specialists as expressing the Gupta era.⁴ With only one exception, they are of certain or likely provenance in Bengal. The exception is the Nandapur plate, which seems to pertain to the area where it was found, in what is today the Indian state of Bihar, but this is directly upstream on the Ganges from the main concentration of known find-spots, in the wedge between the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, corresponding to what are today Rajshahi and Rangpur Divisions of Bangladesh.

A notable feature of this small corpus—not untypical, I fear, for South Asian copperplate inscriptions in general—is that of all 11 plates published before 2015, the present place of conservation is known for only 4. These are the Dhanaidaha, Jagadishpur and Baigram plates, whose present places of conservation at the Indian Museum in Kolkata and the Varendra Research Museum at Rajshahi have been identified by Ryosuke Furuï; the fourth is the Nandapur plate, and this seems to be kept in the Indian Museum as well, if one may rely on information from the Museums of India website, which shows colour photos of the Nandapur plate although it does not identify the inscription as such. Most of the plates that were stated to be kept at the Varendra Research Society (presently the Varendra Research Museum), in Rajshahi, according to reports of the 1920s, 1930s and 1950s, seem no longer to be found there today.⁵ And the photos of the Nandapur plate on the Museums of India website are not of sufficient quality to allow reading of the text. This means that for 8 out of 11 previously published plates, critical reexamination of published readings is possible only on the basis of published facsimiles—and these are not always of high quality.

Previous generations of scholars were dealing with inscriptions that reached them from the field along with information on provenance that tended to be relatively precise, generally to the village level. Despite the fact that village names such as Damodarpur or Baigram are of common occurrence in the landscape of Bengal, it is possible to identify most provenances on modern maps with a satisfactory degree of certainty. In the table, I have recorded what seemed to be the most plausible administrative identifications, relying on colonial-period publications and recent survey work by archaeologists on both sides of the India-Bangladesh border.⁶ These known provenances are also shown here in a map (Pl. 1).

The reality of copperplate discoveries in Bangladesh and India today is that new finds are more often than not filtered directly to the antiquities market, and hence come to scholars without any reliable or in any case no precise information on provenance. The regrettable consequences for archaeological and historical study are many and well known to the readers of this journal. But there is also a very practical problem that arises in the case of copperplates of unknown provenance, namely how to designate them. In his handbook *Indian Epigraphy*, R. Salomon (1998: 328) describes his own practice as follows:

Inscriptions are cited by their generally accepted designations, normally referring to their original findspot, if known, or sometimes to a geographical name in the inscription itself (typically the name of a village granted in a copperplate charter, e.g., ‘Marmuri copperplate ins.’). Inscriptions whose provenance is unknown are usually designated by their present location (e.g., ‘Bombay Royal Asiatic Society copperplate ins.’) or by the name of the issuing authority (e.g., ‘Indravarman relic casket ins.’).

In the case of the corpus of land-sale grants in question, scholars have so far been able to designate the plates with reference to their provenance. The plate published in my 2015 article (Raktamālā #1 in the table) is the first one where this approach fails, as its



Pl. 1. Map of Bengal showing the provenances of the land-sale grants of the Gupta-period
(Drawn by Pierre Pichard, 2018)

provenance is unknown. The table also shows that systematic designation on the basis of any other imaginable criterion—such as place of issue, village(s) concerned, name(s) of petitioner or beneficiary—is impossible because there is not a single distinctive category of information known for every inscription. The designations for the unprovenanced new plates proposed in the table are therefore based on a pragmatic mix of criteria involving names of villages and petitioners contained in these new documents. Inscriptions designated on the basis of elements of contents will be called ‘X grant’, while those designated after provenance will be called ‘X plate’.⁷

Abbreviations

ARASI Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India

ARIE Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy

EI Epigraphia Indica

EIAD Early Inscriptions of Āndhradeśa.

See the database <http://epigraphia.efeo.fr/andhra>.

IN Inventory number in ‘the’ South Asian Inscriptions database <http://siddham.uk>, which contains editions by Dániel Balogh.

TABLE: Gupta-period land-sale grants from Bengal

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Issued from</i>	<i>Concerns village(s)</i>	<i>Petitioner(s)</i>	<i>Beneficiary/ Beneficiaries</i>	<i>Seal(s)</i>
Dhanaidaha	?	?	?	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> Varāhasvāmin	no seal preserved
Kalaikuri- Sultanpur	Śṛṅgaveravaitheya- Pūrṇakauśikā	Hastīśirṣa, Vibhītakī, Gulmagandhikā and Dhānyapāṭalikā	group led by the <i>kulika</i> Bhīma	<i>brāhmaṇas</i> Devabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsenadatta	no seal preserved
Damodarpur #1	not specified	not specified	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> Karpaṭika	same as petitioner	no seal preserved
Jagadishpur	Śṛṅgaveravaitheya- Pūrṇakauśikā	Gulmagandhika	<i>kuṭumbin(s)</i> Kṣemāka, Bhoyila and Mahīdāsa	monastery at Mecikāmrāsiddhāyatana, and monastery at Gulmagandhika as well as temple of Sahasraraśmi	no seal preserved
Damodarpur #2	not specified	Airāvatagorājya	lost	same as petitioner	no seal preserved

samvat	Lines (<i>obv.</i> + <i>rev.</i>)	dimensions of support (<i>cm</i>)		weight (<i>g</i>)	Original locality	Last known locality (<i>source</i>)	Bhandarkar (1929) no.	References
		<i>H</i>	<i>W</i>					
113	17 (17 + 0)	13	14	?	Dhanaidaha, Duaria Union, Lalpur Subdt., Natore Dt., Rajshahi Div., Bangladesh	Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, without inv. no. (Furui, autopsy July 2009)	1267	Bandhyopādhyāya (Banerji) 1909: 459–61, pl. XX; Basak 1923–4, pl.; Sircar 1965, III, no. 16, pp. 287–9; Bhandarkar 1981: 273–6, pl.; Agrawala 1983: 36–7, no. 22, pl.; IN00023.
120 Vaiśākha 1	34 (16 + 18)	13.7	24.1	?	Sultanpur, near Naogaon town, Naogaon Dt.—but the plate may also have come from Kalaikuri, Adamdighi Subdt., Bogra Dt., Rajshahi Div., Bangladesh	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (<i>ARIE</i> 1955–6)	—	Sircar 1943, pl.; Sanyal 1955–6; <i>ARIE</i> 1956–7, A.110; Sircar 1965, III, no. 40A, pp. 352–5, pl. XLVIII–XLIX; not included in Bhandarkar 1981; Agrawala 1983: 127–30, no. 64, pl.; IN00074.
124 Phālgua 7	13 (8 + 5)	10.8	16.2	130	Uttar Damodarpur, Eluary Union, Phulbari Subdt., Dinajpur Dt., Rangpur Div., Bangladesh	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bhandarkar 1929)	1271	Basak 1919–20a: 129–32, pl.; Sircar 1965, III, no. 18, pp. 290–2; Bhandarkar 1981: 282–7, pl.; Agrawala 1983: 44–5, no. 27, pl.; IN00026.
128 Caitra 20	29 (14 + 15)	11.9	19	367	Jagadishpur, Silmaria Union, Puthia Subdt., Rajshahi Dt. and Div., Bangladesh	Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, without inv. no. (Furui, autopsy July 2009)	—	Sircar 1969; Siddhanta 1972; Sircar 1973: 8–14, 61–3, pl. I–II; not included in Bhandarkar 1981; Agrawala 1983: 51–4, no. 30, pl.; IN00062.
128 Vaiśākha 13	13 (8 + 5)	8.2	15.2	183	Uttar Damodarpur, Eluary Union, Phulbari Subdt., Dinajpur Dt., Rangpur Div., Bangladesh	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bhandarkar 1929)	1272	Basak 1919–20a: 132– 4, pl.; Dikshit 1923–4; Sircar 1965, III, no. 19, pp. 292–4; Bhandarkar 1981: 288–91, pl.; Agrawala 1983: 46–7, no. 28, pl.; IN00028.

cont.

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Issued from</i>	<i>Concerns village(s)</i>	<i>Petitioner(s)</i>	<i>Beneficiary/ Beneficiaries</i>	<i>Seal(s)</i>
Baigram	Pañcanagarī	Trivṛtā and Śrīgohālī	<i>kuṭumbins</i> Bhoyila and Bhāskara, sons of Śivanandin	temple of Govindasvāmin	no seal preserved
Baigram fragment	?	mentions Vaṭagohālī and Śrīgohālī	mentions Śivanandin	?	no seal preserved
Tāvira	?	Vidalaka and Sannāhakuṭumbaka	<i>viśayapati</i> Dvīpasoma	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> Guhadāman	no seal preserved
Raktamālā #1	Mahatī- raktamālāgrahāra	Khuḍḍī-raktamālīkā	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> Nandabhūti	same as petitioner	primary legible, secondary mostly illegible
Raktamālā #2	? lavilintyagrahāra	Khuḍḍī-raktamālīkā	<i>kulaputra</i> Gaṇadatta	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> Yaśobhūti	primary legible, secondary illegible
Paharpur	Puṇḍravardhana	Vaṭagohālī, Pṛṣṭhimapottaka, Goṣāṭapuñjaka and Bilvagohālī	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> Nāthaśarman and his wife Rāmī	monastery at Vaṭagohālī	no seal preserved

saṁvat	Lines (obv. + rev.)	dimensions		weight (g)	Original locality	Last known locality (source)	Bhandarkar (1929) no.	References
		of support						
		H	W					
128 Māgha 19	25 (15 + 10)	12.5	22.5	?	Baigram, Boaldar Union, Hakimpur Subdt., Dinajpur Dt., Rangpur Div., Bangladesh	Indian Museum, Kolkata, acc. no. A20047/ 9084 (Furui, autopsy August 2011)	2114	Basak 1931–2; <i>ARASI</i> 1934–5, 42; <i>ARIE</i> 1956–7, A.15 and 1961–2, A.22; Sircar 1965, III, no. 41, pp. 355–9, pl. L–LI; Chakravarti 1977: 12–13; not included in Bhandarkar 1981; Agrawala 1983: 48–50, no. 29, pl.; IN000061.
?	remnants of 6 lines on both sides	4.9	4.7	?	Baigram, Boaldar Union, Hakimpur Subdt., Dinajpur Dt., Rangpur Div., Bangladesh	Indian Museum, Kolkata, acc. no. A20050/ 9085 (Furui, autopsy August 2011)	—	http://museumsfindia.gov.in/repository/record/im_kol-A20050-9085-18 . This article, inscription no. 4.
159 Jyēṣṭha 1	22 (11 + 11)	15.3	32.7	?	unknown	private collection (Griffiths, autopsy January 2016)	—	This article, inscription no. 2.
159 Jyēṣṭha 8	26 (12 + 14)	11	22.6	800	unknown	collection Noman Nasir, Dhaka (Griffiths, autopsy November 2017)	—	Griffiths 2015: 16–27, figs 1–5.
1xx X 13	26 (15 + 11)	14	23	?	unknown	private collection (Griffiths, autopsy January 2016)	—	This article, inscription no. 1.
159 Māgha 7	25 (12 + 13)	11.4	18.4	338	Paharpur, Badalgacchi Subdt., Naogaon Dt., Rajshahi Div., Bangladesh	Indian Museum (<i>ARIE</i> 1956–7, A.14, with question mark)	2037	Dikshit 1929–30, pl.; Sircar 1965, III, no. 42, pp. 359–63; not included in Bhandarkar 1981; Agrawala 1983: 98–100, no. 50, pl.; IN000065.

cont.

<i>Designation</i>	<i>Issued from</i>	<i>Concerns village(s)</i>	<i>Petitioner(s)</i>	<i>Beneficiary/ Beneficiaries</i>	<i>Seal(s)</i>
Damodarpur #3	Palāśavṛndaka	Caṇḍagrāma	<i>grāmika</i> Nābhaka	Nāgadeva, on behalf of some <i>brāhmaṇas</i>	no seal preserved
Damodarpur #4	not specified	Doṅgāgrāma	<i>śreṣṭhīn</i> Ribhupāla	temple of Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin	seal preserved but too corroded to be legible
Nandapur	Amvilagrāmāgrahāra	Jaṅgoyikāgrāma	<i>viśayapati</i> Chattramaha	<i>brāhmaṇa</i> ... svāmin	seal preserved but too corroded to be legible
Nāgavasū	Puṇḍravardhana	Śiṣīpuñja, Madhyamasṛgālikā and Grāmakūṭagohālī	Nāgavasū	monasteries at Śiṣīpuñja, Madhyamasṛgālikā and Grāmakūṭagohālī	no seal preserved
Damodarpur #5	not specified	Lavaṅgasikā, Sāṭuvanāśramaka and Paraspatikā	<i>kulaputra</i> Amṛtadeva	temple of Śvetavarāhasvāmin	preserved

samvat	Lines (<i>obv.</i> + <i>rev.</i>)	dimensions		weight (g)	Original locality	Last known locality (source)	Bhandarkar (1929) no.	References
		of support						
		<i>H</i>	<i>W</i>					
163 (?) Āṣāḍha 13	13 (8 + 5)	8.3	19.7	152	Uttar Damodarpur, Eluary Union, Phulbari Subdt., Dinajpur Dt., Rangpur Div., Bangladesh	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bhandarkar 1929)	1286	Basak 1919–20a, pp. 134–7, pl.; Sircar 1965, III, no. 34, pp. 332–4; Bhandarkar 1981: 335–9, pl.; Agrawala 1983: 102–3, no. 52, pl.; IN00044.
a year during reign of Budhagupta, Phālguna 15	18 (12 + 6)	12.1	18.1	316	Uttar Damodarpur, Eluary Union, Phulbari Subdt., Dinajpur Dt., Rangpur Div., Bangladesh	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bhandarkar 1929)	1550	Basak 1919–20a, pp. 137–41, pl.; Sircar 1965, III, no. 36, pp. 336–9; Bhandarkar 1981: 342–5, pl.; Agrawala 1983: 104–6, no. 53, pl.; IN00046.
169 Vaiśākha śukla 7	19 (15 + 4)	11.6	19	?	Nandpur, Surajgarha Subdt., Lakhisarai Dt., Bihar State, India	Asiatic Society, Calcutta (Majumdar 1935–6) but Indian Museum according to Museums of India (2018)	—	Majumdar 1935–6, pl.; Sircar 1965, III, no. 48A, pp. 382–4; IN00133; not included in Bhandarkar 1981 nor in Agrawala 1983; shown without identification on http:// museumsofindia. gov.in/repository/ record/im_kol- SL-49-86 .
198 Śrāvaṇa x	27 (14 + 13)	13.5	23	?	unknown	private collection (Griffiths, autopsy January 2016)	—	This article, inscription no. 3.
224	22 (13 + 9)	9.8	16.2	263	Uttar Damodarpur, Eluary Union, Phulbari Subdt., Dinajpur Dt., Rangpur Div., Bangladesh	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi (Bhandarkar 1929)	1307	Basak 1919–20a: 141–5, pl.; Dikshit 1923–4; Sircar 1965, III, no. 39, pp. 346– 50; Bhandarkar 1981: 360–4, pl.; Agrawala 1983: 123–5, no. 62, pl.; Griffiths 2015: 16; IN00056.

Editorial methodology and conventions

While what little remains of the new plate from Baigram is in very good state, the three other new plates are all in relatively bad physical condition, being heavily affected by corrosion and having suffered from unprofessional attempts to remove the effects of oxidation. Were it not for a number of favourable factors, it would probably have been impossible to read enough of these documents to translate them. These favourable factors are (i) the strongly formulaic and repetitive nature of these records, which were drawn up largely in prose, making it possible to restore many lacunae on the basis of text-internal comparison; (ii) the fact that there are a substantial number of contemporary documents of the same type (as listed above), making it possible to rely on external comparison in an effort to understand what the scribes may have wanted to say in damaged passages and more generally to determine what their words were intended to mean; and (iii) the fact that I was able to study three of the four inscriptions first through autopsy and subsequently on the basis of very-high-resolution Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI),⁸ making it possible to visualise these documents on my computer and bring out parts of akṣaras that would have remained invisible with more conventional means of reproduction.

These factors determined my editorial methodology, which has been to undertake first a renewed study of all published documents for which good visual documentation is available, either in the form of colour photographs kindly put at my disposal by Ryosuke Furui (for the Dhanaidaha, Jagadishpur, and Baigram plates singled out on p. 16) or in the form of published photos of estampages. This renewed study has made it possible to arrive at sometimes significantly improved readings and translations of known inscriptions, with the benefit of knowledge of a broad sample of epigraphic documents of this type, that the pioneers of the first half of the twentieth century, who deciphered the first land-sale grants to be discovered, naturally could not bring to bear. Having thus prepared myself as

best I could, I turned to the study of the new additions to this corpus of inscriptions.

The conventions adopted for editing them here are essentially the same as those adopted in my previous article (Griffiths 2015), but it seems useful to repeat their description. In my editions, line numbers are indicated in parentheses and marked off from the text proper by use of bold typeface. Prose parts of the inscriptions are run together into single paragraphs; stanzas (with one exception all in *anuṣṭubh* metre) are always indicated as such by a special layout and roman stanza numbering. I strive to keep my edited texts as free as possible from editorial elements not reflecting anything in the original, and do not mark emendations in the text, but relegate these to a separate section, presented line-by-line below each inscription, containing notes on my readings and on necessary emendations. Slight deviations from the modern academic norm of Sanskrit orthography, of the type commonly found in ancient manuscripts and inscriptions, are generally not indicated. The following further editorial signs are used:

- (...) graphic elements whose reading is uncertain
- [...] graphic elements wholly lost or wholly unreadable on the plate but restorable on the basis of philological considerations
- /...\
below the line
- one totally illegible or lost akṣara
- ◇ space left blank by the engraver to mark a break in the text
- ⏏ space for one akṣara left blank by the engraver for no evident reason
- # an illegible sign that must have been a numeral
- °V a vowel that forms an akṣara, i.e. ‘independent vowel’, of the type V
- C* a consonant C stripped of its inherent vowel by other means than an explicit virāma sign (e.g. by reducing the size of the akṣara or otherwise differentiating its shape from the normal akṣara with inherent vowel)
- /// left or right end of the fragment

II. The New Inscriptions

No. 1: A second grant concerning the Raktamālā estate

This plate measures 14 cm in height and 23 cm in width. To its left margin is attached a seal showing the Gajalakṣmī device, about 5.5 cm in diameter. A subsidiary seal has been stamped in the right side of the primary seal, but its device and legend, if there was any, have become unrecognisable due to corrosion. It seems to be due to the process of soldering the seal to the plate that akṣaras of the text have been lost at the beginning of lines 5 through 11 (on the obverse), and 22 through 25 (on the reverse); like the seal, the plate itself has suffered badly from corrosion, but it has been possible to read or restore almost the whole of its text—15 lines on the obverse, 11 on the reverse.

This inscription is issued from a Brahmin estate (*agrahāra*) whose name cannot be restored completely but seems to have ended in the syllables *lavilintī*. It figures a princely advisor (*kumārāmātya*), whose name may tentatively be restored as Gopāla, addressing himself, along with the council, to householders at ‘Minor Red Garland’ (*khuḍḍī-raktamālikā*) to order execution of a donation petitioned and paid for by a Gaṇadatta from the *agrahāra* called ‘Major Red Garland’ (*mahatī-raktamālā*), toponyms which we have already encountered in the Raktamālā grant #1 (Griffiths 2015). He spent a sum of 200 *rūpaka* coins, ‘measured by the customary *rūpaka* of eight *paṇas*’, which according to this inscription seems to have been equivalent to 100 *kārṣāpaṇa* coins, for a single *kulyavāpa* of waste land to be given to the Brahmin Yaśobhūti, resident in the same *agrahāra*. A record-keeper (*pustapāla*) named Keśavadatta figures both as authority confirming the local price of such land and, at the end, as affixer of the seal. The fact that this inscription mentions the coin terms *paṇa* and *kārṣāpaṇa*, previously unattested in any Gupta-period inscription, lends it particular interest. Three of the usual admonitory stanzas on land donation are cited in the final part of the inscription, which closes with a colophon containing a date which is so poorly preserved that nothing more

precise can be said than that it fell in the second century of the Gupta era and on the thirteenth day of an indeterminable month.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

SEALS

The primary seal with its legend is identical to that affixed to the other Raktamālā grant (#1), and has been discussed in my previous study (Griffiths 2015: 18–19).

PRIMARY SEAL (Pl. 2)

- (1) maddhyamaṣaṇḍīkavīthyāyuktakādhi-
- (2) karaṇasya

‘Of the council of officers of the division (*vīthī*) of Madhyamaṣaṇḍīka.’

SECONDARY SEAL (Pl. 3)

illegible

OBVERSE (Pl. 4)

(1) [sva](stī) _ lavilintyagrahārād
bhaṭṭāraka[pā]dānuddhyātaḥ kumārām(ā)-
[tyag](o)pāl[o] dhikaraṇa(2)[ñ] ca (khuḍḍī)-
raktamālikāyām brāhmaṇottarān sākṣudrapra-
dhāna(kuṭu)mbinaḥ k(u)[śa](la)m uktvā
bodhayanti (3) vijñāpaya(ti) [no] maha(tī)-
raktamālāgrahāravāstavyakula(p)uttrakaga(ṇa)-
da(tta) °ihavīthy(ā) paṇ(4)ṇyavastuṣu kārṣ(ā)-
paṇasātena śas[v]a(tkā)lopabhogyo kṣayaṇīvi-
dharmeṇa samudayavāhyāprati(5)(ka)rakhila-
kṣetrakulyavāpavikrayo nuvr̥ṭ(ta)[s ta]d aha
mātāpi[ttro]r anugraheṇātraiva mahatī(6)[ra]-
ktamālāgrahāravāstavyacāturvīdy[ā](bhyanta)-
rav[ā]jisaneyi(kaut)sa(sa)gotrabrāhmaṇayaś(o)-
bhū(7)[ti]put[r]apautrapapautrādibhi(r
bhojyam akṣaya)ṇīvidharmmeṇa samudaya-
bāh(y)āpratīkarakhilakṣe(8)[trakulyavā]-
pa[m e]kaṁ krītvā dātum icchāmy arhatha
matto nuvr̥ṭtāṣṭapaṇaka(rū)[pa](ke)ṇeva
rūpaka[śata](9)[dva]yam upasa[m]gṛhya
khuḍḍīraktamālikāgrā(me) samudayavāhy(ā)-
pratīka(ra)khilakṣetrakulyavāpaṇ(10)
(dā)tum iti tatra pustapāla(keśa)vadattā-
vadhāraṇayāvadhṛta(m astī)ha(v)īthyā paṇya-
(vastu)[ṣu] (11) [kā](rṣā)pa(ṇa)[śate]na
śasvakālopabhogyo kṣayaṇīvidharmmeṇa



Pl. 2. Primary seal of the Raktamālā grant #2 (Photo Arlo Griffiths, 2016)



Pl. 3. Secondary seal of the Raktamālā grant #2 (Photo James Miles, 2017)

samudayavāhyāpratīkarakhila(12)(kṣe)-
travikra/yo\ nuvṛttaḥ tad(v)ikray[e]ṇa ca
na kaś cid virodh(o) bhaṭṭāarakapādā(nā)m
urtthopaca(yo) (13) [dharmma]ṣaḍbhāg(āvā)-
[pti]ś ca tad asmād api kulaputrakagaṇadattād
anuvṛttāṣṭapa(ṇakarū)pake(14)ṇa rūpa[ka]śata-
dvayam upasaṅg[ṛ](h)[ya brā](hma)ṇayaśo-
bhūteḥ tatputrapautraprapautrādi(bho-
jya)(15)m akṣaya(ṇivī)[dha](rmme)[ṇa]

REVERSE (Pl. 5)

(16) samudayabāhyā[pratīkara]khilakṣetra-
kulyavāpa _ _ _ _ raktamālikāgrāme dīyatām
iti (17) yato yuṣmān bodhayāmas tad anena
yathoparilikhitakavijñāpitakā _ _ (r)ita _ _ _ _
(18) tatra grāme samudayavāhyāpratīkara-
khilakṣetrakulyavā(pa)m ekaṁ dattam _ _ _
_ _ _ _ (19) samudayavāhyāpratīkarakhila-
kṣetrakulyavāp(e) kuṭumbinām karṣṣaṇ(ā)vi-
ro[dhīsthā]ne _ _ _ (20) saviśvāsenādhi-
karaṇena viṣayakulakuṭumbibhiś ca saheto
n(i)tikāratnyāḥ (°aṣṭaka)[navakana](21)lābhyām
apaviñchya pari[n]iyamya ca dāsyatha datvā
(ca) śāsvatkālo(pa)bhogyam a[kṣayaṇivī-
dha](22)[rmme]ṇānupālayiṣyathet(i) ◊ °uktañ
ca ◊

I. ṣaṣṭim barṣṣasahasrāṇi sva[rgge] vasa[ti
bhūmidah]

(23) [°ā]kṣeptā cānumantā ca tāny eva
narake vaset* I ◊

II. pū[r]vvada[ttā](n dvijā)tibhyo [yatnād
rakṣa yu]dhi(24)[ṣṭhi]ra
mahī mahimatāñ cch(r)eṣṭha dānāc chreyo
nupālana(m*) I ◊

III. sva(dattām) paradattā(m bā yo) hare[ta
vasundha](25)[rām]
śvaviṣṭhā[yām kṛmir] (bhū)tvā pitṛbhiḥ
saha pacyateti I ◊

samva 100 ## # _ _ _ di (26) 10 3 ◊
likhi[tam] _ _ ṇa I tāpitam keśavadattena

Notes on readings

2. *sākṣudra*:- emend *sakṣudra*-.

3-4. °*ihavīthyā paṇnyavastuḥ*: emend °*ihavīthyām
paṇnyavastuḥ*. Cf. l. 10 below, and similar
passages in the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur

plate: *ihavīthyām apratīkarakhilakṣetrasya*

śāsvatkālopabhogāyākṣayanīvyā

dvīdīnārikyakhilakṣetrakulyabāpavikrayamaryādayā

(ll. 12-13); *ihavīthyām apratīkarakhilakṣetrasya*

śāsvatkālopabhogāyākṣayanīvyā

dvīdīnārikyakulyabāpavikrayo nuvṛttas (ll. 18-19).

4. *kṣayanīvi*:- emend *kṣayanīvi*-. The same spelling ṇ
for *n* in the word *akṣayanīvi* recurs several times
in this inscription and further instances will
not be noted.

5. *aha*: emend *aham*.

6. *-v[ā]jisaneyi*:- emend *-vājasaneyi*- or *-vājasaneya*-.

The same spelling *-vājisaneyi*- is found in the
Tāvira grant, l. 9; we read *-vājisaneya*- in
Raktamālā #1, ll. 3 and 15, but *-vājisaneya*- in
Kalaikuri-Sultanpur, l. 14.

8. *-(rū)[pa](ke)ṇeva*: emend *-rūpakeṇaiva*.

10. *-(v)īthyā*: emend *-vīthyām*.

11. *śāsvakālopa*:- emend *śāsvatkālopa*-. The same error
is found in the Tāvira grant, ll. 11-12.

12. *urtthopaca(yo)*: emend *arththopacayo*. Cf. the
Paharpur plate, l. 16.

16. *-vāpa* _ _ _ *rakta*:- the word *khuddī* can almost
certainly be filled in to restore part of the
lacuna (cf. l. 9). The remaining gap can
be filled with less certainty. My translation
presumes *-kulyavāpa[m ekaṁ khuddī]raktamālikā-*
grāme.

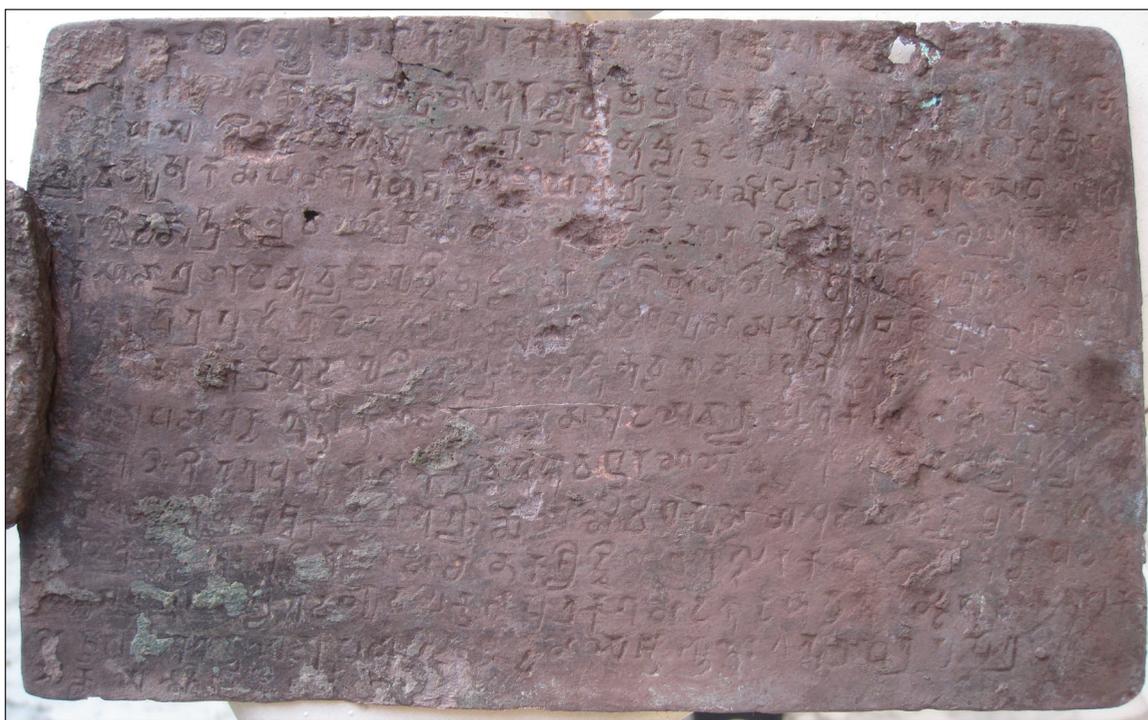
17. *anena yathoparilikhitakavijñāpitakā* _ _ (r)ita _ _ _ _:
my translation presumes the restoration *anena
yathoparilikhitakavijñāpitakāvadhāritakrameṇa*. Cf.
the Paharpur plate, l. 18: *vijñāpitakakramopa-*
yogāyoparinirddiṣṭagrāmagoḥālikeṣu; the Damodar-
pur plate #3, l. 6 *yataḥ pustapālapatradāsenāva-*
dhāritam yuktam anena vijñāpitam; the Kotalipada
plate (Furui 2013), ll. 13-14 *yata* °*etad abhya-*
rthanam adhikṛtyāsmābhiḥ pustapālayatsenakṛtā-
vadharaṇayāvadhāritam astīha viṣaye

18. It seems likely that the illegible sequence
at the end of the line is to be restored as
°*akṣayanīvidharmmeṇa*. Despite the redundancy
that results with the expression that occurs
again in ll. 21-2, I presume this restoration in
my translation.

19. *karṣṣaṇ(ā)vi[rodhīsthā]ne*: the restoration is
based on numerous parallel passages, e.g. the
Nandapur plate, l. 13.

22-5. Emended text of the three admonitory
stanzas:

I. ṣaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇi sarge vasati bhūmidah
ākṣeptā cānumantā ca tāny eva narake vaset



Pl. 4. Obverse of the Raktamālā grant #2 (Photo Arlo Griffiths, 2016)



Pl. 5. Reverse of the Raktamālā grant #2 (Photo James Miles, 2017)

- III. pūrvadattām dvijātibhyo yatnād rakṣa
yudhiṣṭhira
mahīm mahīmatām śreṣṭha dānāc chreyo
'nupālanam
- III. svadattām paradattām vā yo hareta
vasundharām
sa viṣṭhāyām krimir bhūtvā pitṛbhis saha
pacyate

TRANSLATION

(1–2) Hail! From the ... lavilintī⁹ *agrahāra*, the princely advisor Gopāla, favoured by the feet of the Lord,¹⁰ and the council, greet the landholders (*kuṭumbin*)¹¹ both prominent and modest, Brahmins being foremost among them, in the [village called] ‘Minor Red Garland’ (*khuḍḍī raktamālikā*) and they inform (as follows):

(3–10) Gaṇadatta, son of a good family residing in the *agrahāra* ‘Major Red Garland’ (*mahatī raktamālā*), petitions us (as follows): ‘With respect to vendible properties in this division, the custom is sale for one hundred *kārṣāpaṇas* of a *kulyavāpa* of waste land which is without revenue charges and yields no tax, to be enjoyed in perpetuity in accordance with the law on permanent endowments. Therefore, having purchased in this very location (*atraiva*) one *kulyavāpa* of waste land that is without revenue charges and yields no tax, for the (spiritual) benefit of my mother and father,¹² I wish to give [that land], to be enjoyed in accordance with the law on permanent endowments by the Brahmin Yaśobhūti of the Kautsa *gotra*, a Vājasaneyin belonging to the community of [Brahmins] studying the four Vedas residing in the ‘Major Red Garland’ *agrahāra*, by his sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, and so on. Having received from me two hundred *rūpakas*, [measured] by none other than the customary *rūpaka* of eight *paṇas*,¹³ be so kind as to give a *kulyavāpa* of waste land that is without revenue charges and yields no tax, in the village ‘Minor Red Garland.’

(10–16) In that regard (*tatra*), it has been confirmed through investigation by the record-keeper Keśavadatta: ‘Indeed (*asti*), with respect to vendible properties in this division, the sale of [a *kulyavāpa* of] waste land that is without

revenue charges and yields no tax, to be enjoyed in perpetuity in accordance with the law on permanent endowments, is customary for one hundred *kārṣāpaṇas*. And no conflict of interest (*virodha*) whatsoever [will result] through its sale: [on the contrary,] for His Majesty [there will be] increase of wealth and attainment of one sixth of the merit. Hence (*tad*), after receipt of two hundred *rūpakas*, [measured] by the customary *rūpaka* of eight *paṇas*, also from this Gaṇadatta, son of a good family, one *kulyavāpa* of waste land that is without revenue charges and yields no tax in the village Minor Red Garland is to be given to the Brahmin Yaśobhūti, to be enjoyed by his sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, and so on, in accordance with the law on permanent endowments.’

(17–22) Wherefore we inform you: that one *kulyavāpa* of waste land without revenue charges and yielding no tax, as per the above-written procedure of request and confirmation, has been given by him in that village. Regarding the *kulyavāpa* of waste land that is without revenue charges and yields no tax [which has been given] in accordance with the law on permanent endowments, in a place which poses no obstacle to the agricultural activities of the landholders, in the company of council that enjoys our confidence and the landholders of good families of the district, you shall give [this land] after dividing and demarcating [it] from this¹⁴ with eight by nine of the governmental (*nītika*)¹⁵ cubits. And having given it, you shall protect it to be enjoyed in perpetuity in accordance with the law on permanent endowments.

(22–6) And it has been said:

- I. The giver of land resides sixty thousand years in heaven; the one who challenges (a donation) as well as the one who approves (of the challenge) will reside as many [years] in hell.
- II. You, Yudhiṣṭhira, most excellent of kings, must strenuously protect land previously given to Brahmins. Safeguarding is even better than giving.

III. The one who would steal land given by himself or another becomes a worm in excrement and is cooked with his ancestors.

Year 1??. Written by ...; heated by Keśavadatta.

No. 2: A grant of land in the Tāvira district

This plate measures 15.3 cm in height and 32.7 cm in width. In its left margin we see a circular extension with a triangular hole in the middle: this is where a seal would originally have been affixed. The seal was already lost when the first known photos of the plate were taken at an antique shop in Dhaka, showing it then to have been in fully bent state (Pls 6 and 7).¹⁶ When the same plate was acquired by its present owner in 2016, and photos were sent to me, I at first did not recognise that these showed the same as that previously photographed in folded state, because it had now been returned to its original, flat state, the place of the former fold only being identifiable to one who has seen the plate in folded state. As shown in the ‘before’ photos, the plate was covered with a thick greenish patina;

much of this remains at present, although some attempt seems to have been made to remove the encrustation presumably at the same time that the plate was unfolded.

The name of the place where this inscription was issued is unfortunately lost. An officer (*āyuktaka*), whose name is not entirely preserved, addresses himself, along with the council, to householders at the villages Vidalaka and Sannāhakuṭumbaka, to order execution of a donation paid for by Dvīpasoma, chief of the district named Tāvira, who is represented by his son Varāhasoma. He spent the sum of twenty-four *dināra* coins, to purchase waste land to be given to the Brahmin Guhadāman, a royal advisor (*rājāmātya*) residing in a village the reading of whose name as Gacikuṇṭaka is rather tentative. A record-keeper named Sumati figures both as authority confirming the local price of a *kulyavāpa* of waste land and, at the end, as scribe. Three of the usual admonitory stanzas are cited at the end, but followed by a stanza not found in any other inscription. The grant closes with



Pl. 6. View of the Tāvira grant in an antique shop in Dhaka, 2015. Lines 1–4 on the obverse are visible, folded back over the reverse, where lines 12–13 and parts of lines 14–15 remain visible



Pl. 7. Side view of the Tāvira grant in an antique shop in Dhaka, 2015

a colophon containing a date in year 159 of the Gupta era.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

OBVERSE (Pl. 8)

(1) (sva)s(t)[i] _ _ _ _ (d ā)yuktakagu _
ca(nd)r(o) dh[i]kara[ṇam] mahattara _ _ (pali)
_ _ _ _ _ (kr) _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ bha _ _ vi-
rudrabrahma(2)senaviṣṇudevasatyaghoṣa-
sat(va)rakṣitavanadāmajayaviṣ(ṇu)prabhudāma-
kuṭumbisatyaviṣṇuskandaviṣṇupraiya-
viṣṇu(3)valapālaguṇadevagūṇaśarmabhava-
devakuṇḍakṛṣ(ṇ)a(°ā) _ cirātaviṣṇuśambhukīrti-
(bhakt)idāmamanahkṛṣṇakṣemarudrabhava-
dāma(4)lakṣ(m)a[ṇa](mittra)somavaladāsajaya-
dāsaś(u)ṅgadāmavyāghraśarmmasthāvaradāma-
yaśodāmadāmodaradāmakumārādāma-
ga_(5)dāma°adbhutaviṣṇurājyasiṅha-
°upen(dra)pālapremasiṅ(ha)kṛṣṇasomarājya-
somabhavadāmapurogās ca viṣayakuṭumbina[h]
(6) vidalakasannāhakuṭumbakayor
brāhmaṇottarān sakṣudrapradhānādikuṭum-
binaḥ ◊ kuśalam āśāsya bodhayanti likhanti
(7) ca (°ihā)smān tāvīraṣayapatidvīpasomas
svaputtravarāhasomena vijñāpayati yuṣmākam
ihaviṣaye dvidīnā(8)rikyakulyavāpena
śāsvatkālopabhogyo kṣayanīvikhilakṣetra-
vikkrayo nuvṛttas tad arhatha mamāpy
anenaiva kkramaṇa (s)va(9)puṇyāpyāyanāya
ca gac(ī)ku(ṇṭa)kavāstavyakāśyapasagottra-
vāḥjaneya(j)āmātyabrāhmaṇaguhadāmnaḥ
pañcamahā(10)yaj(ñ)ānupravarttanāya matto
catuścatvāriṅśad dīnārān upasa(ṇ)gr̥hyā-
pratīkarakhilakṣettrakulyavāpā dvāvīṅśatin
dātum iti (11) yata[h] pustapāla(s)umativīra-
siṅhābhyaṃ avadhāraṇayotpannam asty ayam
asmadvīṣaye dvidīnārikkyakulyavā(p)ena śāsva-

REVERSE (Pl. 9)

(12) kālopabhogyo viṣayo kṣaya(n)ivī(kh)ila-
kṣettravikkra(yo) nuvṛttas tad a(s)ya
tāvīraṣayapatidvīpa(so)masya svaputtra(va)rā-
(ha)(13)somena vijñāpayato na kaścid virodhaḥ
kebala bhaṭṭāarakapādānā(n dha)rmmaṣaḍ-
bhāg(o) viṣayena ca śāsvatkālam
anupālaniy(o) (14) tad diyatām iti yata

°etadavadhāraṇā(k)ramāṅyād etasmād
viṣayapatidvīpasomaputtravarāhasomāc
catuścatvāriṅśat* (15) d(ī)nārān
upasa(m)gr̥(h)y(o)bhayor (b)vi(da)laka-
sannāhakuṭumbakayor dvāvīṅśatir apratikara-
khilakṣettrakulyavāp(ā) dattā(h) ku 20 2 yatra
(16) vidalake kulyavāpā dvādaśa ku 10 2
sannāhakuṭumbake kulyavāpā daśa ku 10
°evam ku 20 2 ◊ yūyam viṣayamaryādayā
(17) °aṣṭakanavakanaḥbhyām apavi(ñ)cchya
kuṭumvinām karṣaṇāvirodhisthāne (ca)tus-
sīmacihnaniyamitāni kṛtvā dāsyatha (18)
°akṣayanīvidharmmena ca śāsvatkālam anu-
pālaniyā(the)ty ape ca vyāsamanubhyām uktā
ślo(kā) [bha](vanti)

- I. svadattām paradattām (vā) (19) [yo hareta
va]sundharām
sa viṣṭhāyām kṛmir bhūtvā piṭṛbhis saha
pacyate ◊
 - II. ṣaṣṭim varṣasahasrāṇi svargge vasati
bhūmidah
(20) °ākṣeptā cānumantā ca tāny eva
narake vaset* ◊
 - III. pūrvvadattām dvijātibhyo yatnād rakṣa
yudhiṣṭhira ◊
mahī mahimatām śre(21)ṣṭha dāṇāc chreyo
nupāla(n)am*
 - IV. de puruṣasya bha(va)n(t)i ye sahāyā
kaluṣe karmmaṇi dharmma(saṅcaye) _
(°a)vagacchati (me) (22) ta(v)āntarā(tmā)
niyatām te pi janā(s ta)danśabhāja °iti ◊
- saṃ 100 (50) 9 ◊ j(e)ṣ(ṭha)di (l) ◊ li(khitam) teṇa
to sumatinā

Notes on readings

2. -*praiya*:- emend -*priya*-?
9. -*vāḥjaneya(j)āmātya*:- emend -*vāḥjaneyavīrjāmātya*-. Cf. my note on Raktamālā #2, l. 6.
12. -*kālopabhogyo*: emend -*tkālopabhogyo*. The same misspelling occurs in Raktamālā #2, line 11.
12. *viṣayo*: this word is intrusive and needs to be deleted.
13. *kebala bhaṭṭāarakapādānā(n dha)rmmaṣaḍbhāg(o)*: emend *kevalam bhaṭṭāarakapādānān dharmmaṣaḍbhāgo*. Cf. Damodarapur #5, ll. 12–13, published as *kevalam śrīparamabhāṭṭāarakapādāna dharmmaṣaḍbhāg[ra]tāvā-*



Pl. 8. Obverse of the Tāvīra grant in unfolded state (Photo James Miles, 2017)



Pl. 9. Reverse of the Tāvāra grant in unfolded state (Photo James Miles, 2017)

pti/[h]*, but certainly to be read/restored as follows: *kevalam śrīparamabhaṭṭāarakapādānām dharmmaṣaḍbhāgāvāptih*.

13. *anupālaniy(o)*: the reading of the final akṣara is very doubtful. If indeed there is the vowel -o, as seems to be the case on some of the photos, then it needs to be emended to *anupālaniyaḥ* or *anupālaniyam**.
14. *°etadvadhāraṇā(k)ramāṇyād etasmād*: the akṣara *ṇyā* is intrusive; emend *°etadvadhāraṇākramād etasmād*. Cf. the Paharpur plate, l. 17 *anenāvadhāraṇākkrameṇāsmād*; Damodarpur #5, l. 14 *anenāvadhāraṇākrameṇa etasmād*.
15. *(b)vi(da)laka-*: emend *vīdalaka-*.
17. *-niyamitāni*: in the light of what precedes one initially expects *-niyamitāḥ*, but see the Jagadishpur plate, line 22 *catusśimāniyamitakṣetraṇ*.
18. *anupālayiṣya(the)by ape*: emend *anupālayiṣyathety api*.
- 18–21. The first three admonitory stanzas also figure in the preceding grant, and their emended text has been cited above.
- 21–2. *de*: this akṣara is intrusive and needs to be deleted. The final admonitory stanza (in Upodgatā meter) may then tentatively be emended as follows:

IV. *puruṣasya bhavanti ye saḥāyāḥ
kaluṣe karmaṇi dharmasañcaye vā
°avagacchati me yathāntarātmā
niyataṁ te 'pi janās tadamśabhāja °iti* ◊
22. *saṁ 100 (50) 9*: the sign here read as 50 appears to have a somewhat different shape from that seen in the Raktamālā grant #1 (Pl. 10),



Pl. 10. Close-up of the Raktamālā grant #1, l. 26, showing figures 100 50 9 (Extracted from a photo by Arlo Griffiths, 2017)

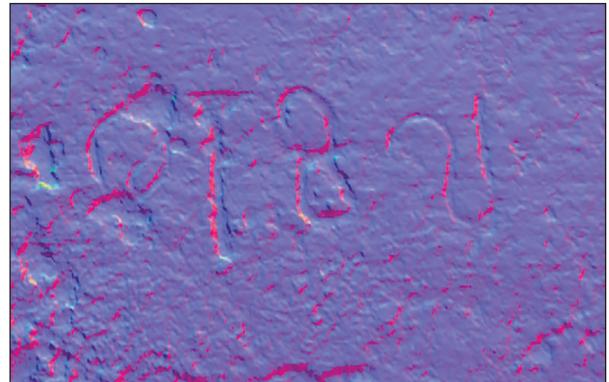
occurring also in the Paharpur plate. But no other sign for any of the multiples of 10 seems to be more plausible. See Pl. 11.

22. *to sumatinā*: the akṣara *to* likewise seems intrusive (cf. l. 11 *sumatī*) and is ignored in my translation.

TRANSLATION

(1–7) Hail! From ..., the officer ... -candra, the council and the landholders of the district—led by the notables [names of about six persons undeterminable due to damage] -rudra, Brahmasena, Viṣṇudeva, Satyaghoṣa, Sattvarakṣita, Vanadāman, Jayaviṣṇu and Prabhudāman; and by the landholders Satyaviṣṇu, Skandaviṣṇu, Praiyaviṣṇu (?), Balapāla, Guṇadeva, Guṇaśarman, Bhavadeva, Kuṇḍakṣṇa, Ā...cirātaṣṇu (?),¹⁷ Śambhukirtti, Bhaktidāman (?), Manaḥkṣṇa, Kṣemarudra, Bhavadāman, Lakṣmaṇa, Mitrasoma, Baladāsa, Jayadāsa, Śuṅgadāman, Vyāghraśarman, Sthāvaradāman, Yaśodāman, Dāmodaradāman, Kumāradāman, Ga...dāman (?),¹⁸ Adbhutaviṣṇu, Rājyasimha, Upendrapāla, Premasimha, Kṣṇasoma, Rājyasoma and Bhavadāman—greet the landholders at Vidalka and Sannāhakuṭumbaka, both modest and prominent, etc., Brahmins being foremost among them, inform them and write:

(7–10) Dvīpasoma, chief of the Tāvira district, through his own son Varāhasoma, petitions us here: ‘In your district here, the custom is sale of waste land as permanent endowment to be



Pl. 11. Close-up of the Tāvira grant, l. 22, showing figures 100 (50) 9 (Extracted from RTI by James Miles, 2017)

enjoyed in perpetuity with a *kulyavāpa* for (the price of) two *dīnāras*. Thus (*tad*) for me too, with this very procedure and for the purpose of (my) own merit being increased, be so kind as to take from me forty-four *dīnāras* and give twenty-two *kulyavāpas* of waste land that yields no tax to the Brahmin Guhadāman, a royal adviser and Vājasaneyin belonging to the Kāśyapa *gotra*, residing at Gacīkuṅṭaka (?), for the purpose of the regular performance of the five great sacrifices.’

(11–16) Because it has appeared from the certification of the record-keepers Sumati and Vīrasimha: ‘Indeed (*asti*), the custom in our district is sale of waste land as permanent endowment to be enjoyed in perpetuity with a *kulyavāpa* for (the price of) two *dīnāras*, so that (*tad*) there is no conflict whatsoever (with the interests of the king) when this Dvīpasoma, chief of the Tāvīra district, respectfully requests (such a sale) through his own son Varāhasoma, (but on the contrary) only the sixth share of the merit for his majesty, and it is to be protected in perpetuity by the district. So let the gift be made.’ Therefore, consequent to this procedure of investigation, twenty-two *kulyavāpas*, *ku* 22, of waste land yielding no tax have been given at both Vidālaka and Sannāhakuṭumbaka—among which twelve *kulyavāpas*, *ku* 12, in Vidāla, ten *kulyavāpas*, *ku* 10, in Sannāhakuṭumbaka, so *ku* 22—after having taken forty-four *dīnāras* from this Varāhasoma, son of the district chief Dvīpasoma.

(16–18) You shall¹⁹ separate them off using two reeds, eight by ninefold according to the convention of the district, in a place that does not conflict with the cultivation of the landholders; shall make (the fields) delimited by markers of the four boundaries; shall make the donation and shall protect it in perpetuity according to the law on permanent endowments.

(18–22) And there are also verses pronounced by Vyāsa and Manu:

- I. The one who would steal land given by himself or another becomes a worm in excrement and is cooked with his ancestors.
- II. The giver of land resides sixty thousand years in heaven; the one who challenges (a

donation) as well as the one who condones (the challenge) will reside as many [years] in hell.

- III. You, Yudhiṣṭhira, most excellent of kings, must strenuously protect land previously given to brahmins. Safeguarding is even better than giving.
- IV. My inner spirit understands that those companions a man has in action that brings defilement or for collecting merit inevitably also get a share of it.

Year 159, (month of) Jyeṣṭha, day 1. Written by that Sumati.

No. 3: A grant of land to monasteries at Śiṣīpuṅja, Madhyamasṛgālikā and Grāmakūṭagohālī

This plate measures 13.5 cm in height and 23.3 cm in width. In its left margin we see a semicircular extension with a rectangular hole in the middle: this is where a seal would originally have been affixed. This seal is unfortunately lost. The plate has suffered badly from corrosion, but thanks to the repetition of long strings of text in two parts of the inscription it has been possible to read or restore most of it—14 lines on the obverse, 13 on the reverse. It records a donation in favour of three monasteries whose affiliation with Jainism is revealed by a string of unique or rarely attested terms (see pp. 45–50). The grant must be compared with the Jagadishpur plate, dated to year 128, and the Paharpur plate, dated to year 159, both in favour of Jaina ascetics. This new grant is, like the Paharpur plate, issued from the capital of Puṅḍravardhana. It figures anonymous officials addressing householders in the localities Śiṣīpuṅja, Madhyamasṛgālikā and Grāmakūṭagohālī to order execution of a donation petitioned and paid for by a certain Nāgvasu. He spent a sum of 4 *dīnāra* coins, for a total of 2 *kulyavāpas*, covering three distinct parcels of waste land, to be given to the monasteries in the mentioned localities, for the sustenance of the monks, for the regular performance of worship, and for the maintenance of the buildings. A number of named record-keepers figure as authorities confirming the local price of a *kulyavāpa* of waste land. Two of the

usual admonitory stanzas on land donation are cited in the final part of the inscription, which closes with a colophon containing a date in the month of Śrāvaṇa in year 198 of the Gupta era, corresponding to around 518 CE, making this the latest inscription but one of the Gupta period in the Puṇḍravardhana area.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

OBVERSE (Pl. 12)

(1) svast[i] puṇḍravarddhanād āyuktakā
 °adh[i]ṣṭhānādh[i](ka)raṇaṅ ca (ṣa)ṇḍ(ika)-
 vīth[e]yā[r](y)ya(g)r[āma](2)prāveśyaśiṣī-
 puñjamaddhyamasṛgālikāyābjataṭāpagaccha-
 prāveśyagrāmakūṭagohāly(ām) (3) brāhma-
 ṇādīn kuṭumbinaḥ kuśalam uk[tvānu](bo)dha-
 yanti vijñāpayati nā nāgavasuh yu(ṣma)(4)da-
 dhikaraṅ(e) dvidīnā(r)ikyakulyavā(pe)[na] (śa)-
 śvatkālopabhojyākṣayanivīdharmmeṇa
 samuda(5)yabāhyāpratīkarakhilakṣettravi-
 kra(yo) nuv(r)ttas tad arhatha mamāpy anenaiva
 krameṇa śiṣī(6)puñja _ _ _ _ _
 _ _ vihā(ra)dvaya(m) g[rā](ma)kūṭagohālyām
 brāhma(7)ṇā _ _ ṇḍanakār(i)takavihāra _ _ _ _
 vihāratrayasya (kṣ)amaṇācāryyajinadāsa-
 ka(8)(r)ṇṇakābhyām adhiṣṭhitāyām bhaga-
 vatām arhatām ga(ndhadh)[ūpa](s)uma[no]-
 dīpabalicaruni(9)vedyādipravartta(nāya ni-
 granthapu)trajī(tānāgatābhyāgatānān ta)ni-
 vās(i)nāñ cany(ā)(10)dyapiṇḍapānīpāṭṛkād(i)-
 bhojyakhaṇḍaphuṭṭapratīsamskārādyopayo(ka)
 □ matto dīnāra(11)catuṣṭayām grhītvā
 śiṣīpuñjakhilakṣettras(y)ār(ddha)kulyavāpam
 maddhyamasṛgālikāya (12) khilakṣattresya
 kulyavāpam grāmakūṭa(go)hālyām (khila)[kṣe]-
 ttrasyārddhakulyavāpam °evam °apra-
 ti(13)karakhilakṣettrasya kuvāpadvayam dātum
 iti (ya)taḥ (p)rathamapustapālaśarvvādyā-
 pu(s)[ta](14)pāla(prī)tiṣṇ(u)धारजयदत्ता-
 र्दामदत्तासुदरशास्रिदसभवादसंनम

REVERSE (Pl. 13)

(15) [°ava]dhā(ra)ṇa(y)[ā](vadhṛtya) nāga-
 vaso(h) sakāśād dīnāracatuṣṭayam āy(i)(16)krī-
 tyā diyatām iti śiṣīpuñjaśrīgohāligrā-
 makūṭagohālyāñ ca vihāratray[ām] (17)
 kṣamanācāryyajinadāsaka(r)ṇṇakābhyām

adhiṣṭhit(ayo) bhaga(va)tām arhatām ga-
 ndha(18)dhūpasumanodīpabalicarunivedyā-
 dipravarttanāya nigranthaputrajitānā(19)gata-
 bhyāgatānān tanivāsināñ cā[n]y(ā)dyapiṇḍa-
 pānīpāt(ṛ)kādibhojyakhaṇḍa(20)phuṭṭapra-
 tīsamskārādyarttha śiṣīpuñjakhilakṣettrasyārddha-
 kulyavāpa maddhyamasṛ(21)gālikāyām
 khila(kṣ)ettrasya kulyavāpam grāmakūṭago-
 hālyām khilakṣettrasyārddhakulya(22)vāpam
 °evam samudayabāhyāpratīkarakhilakṣettrasya
 kulyavāpadvayam da (23) vihāratra(ya) tad
 yuṣmābhiḥ svakarṣaṇāvirodhisthāne ṣaṭkanalair
 apavi(24)ñ(cch)ya dātavyām akṣayanivīdhar-
 mmeṇa ca śaśvatkālam anupālyam iti °u(ktam)
 (25) (bhagava)tā vyāsenā ḍ

- I. svadattām paradattām vā yo hareta
 vasundharām
 sa viṣṭh(ā)y(ām kri)(26)mi(r) bhūtvā
 piṭṛbhiḥ saha pacyate ḍ
- II. ṣaṣṭivarṣasahasrāṇi svargge modati
 bhūmidah
 [°ā](27)(kṣeptā cānumantā ca tāny eva
 narake vaset*)

(sam 100) 90 8 śrāvaṇa di _

Notes on readings

1. (ṣa)ṇḍ(ika)vīth[e]yā[r](y)ya(g)r[āma]-: at the beginning, a number of alternative readings of the unclear or lost akṣaras are imaginable, notably *khaṇḍaka-* or *khaṇḍika-*, while nothing more is certain about the first akṣara after *-vītheyā* than that it has a *-y-* in final position of a consonant cluster; the consonant immediately above it seems to have been fairly wide, which means another *y* is a likely candidate. What little remains visible of this consonant supports the hypothesis that it is indeed *y*.
2. *-sṛgālikāyābjata-*: emend *-sṛgālikābjata-*. A similarly structured long compound with various hamlet names that are *prāveśya* to superordinate units is found at the beginning of the Paharpur plate, and makes clear that one should not here emend *-sṛgālikāyām abjata-*, although perhaps the error can be explained as being due to hesitation between two coordinated locative forms, and the *dvandva* compound that I assume.
3. *nā nāga-*: emend *no nāga-*.



Pl. 12. Obverse of Nāgvasu's grant (Photo James Miles, 2017)



Pl. 13. Reverse of Nāgvasu's grant
(Extract from RTI in specular enhancement mode, James Miles, 2017)

4. *-kulyavā(pe)[na] (śa)śvat-*: restored after the Paharpur plate, ll. 4 and 11.
4. *-bhōjyākṣaya-*: emend *-bhogyo kṣaya-* or *-bhogyākṣaya-*.
6. The part of the lacuna immediately after *-puñja* may be filled in with the string *maddhyamasṛgālikāyā*.
6. *vihā(ra)dvaya(m)*: read or emend *vihāradvaye?*
- 6–7. *brāhmaṇā _ _ ṇḍanakār(i)takavihāra*: one has the impression that what stands before *-kāritakavihāre* must here be the name of a Brahmin, perhaps the founder of the *vihāra* in question, although when the sequence *-kāritakavihāre* is used in the Jagadishpur plate, three times in lines 9 and 10, it is preceded each time by the beneficiary of the monastery's foundation: see the passage quoted below, p. 46.
7. *vihāratrayasya (kṣa)mañācāryya-*: emend *vihāratrayyām kṣamanācāryya-*, as in ll. 16–17. On the word *kṣamanācāryya*, see discussion below, p. 47. In the lacuna before *vihāra-*, I expect *evam*, as in l. 12.
9. *-pravartta(nāya nigranthapu)trajī(tānāgatābhyāgatānān ta)nivās(i)nāñ*: emend *-pravarttanāya nigranthaputrajitānāgatābhyāgatānān tannivāsinañ*.
- 9–10. *cany(ā)dyapiṇḍapāṇipātrikād(i)bhōjya-*: emend *cānyādyapiṇḍapāṇipātrikādibhōjya-*. Cf. l. 19. The emendation to *-pāṇipātrikādi-* is based on the occurrence of the same term in the Jaina image inscriptions cited below, p. 47. The first two akṣaras are of uncertain reading both here and in l. 19, where the first seems to be *cā* rather than *ca*; *c(a/ā)nyo*, *c(a/ā)byo* are among other possibilities, none of them yielding recognizable words.
10. *-pratisaṃskārādyopayo(ka)□*: the normal formula is *-pratisaṃskārakaraṇāya* (see the Baigram plate, l. 11; Damodarpur #5, l. 8; the Gunaighar grant edited by Bhattacharyya 1930, l. 7; the plate edited in Furuī 2015, l. 13—see also von Hinüber 2013: 373). In l. 20 we see *-pratisaṃskārādyarththa*; emend here *-pratisaṃskārādyupayogāya* (cf. Paharpur, l. 13 *gandha[dhūp]ādyupayogāya* and Damodarpur #5, l. 9 *madhuparkkadīpādyupa[yo]gā[ya]*).
- 11–12. *-sṛgālikāya khilakṣattresya*: emend *-sṛgālikāyām khilakṣettrasya*.
13. *kuvāpadvayañ*: emend *kulyavāpadvayañ*.
14. *-sudarśana-*: emend *-sudarśana-*.
- 16–17. *vihāratrayy[ām] kṣamanā- ... -kābhyām*

adhiṣṭhit(ayo): emend *vihāratrayyām kṣamanā- ... -kābhyām adhiṣṭhitāyām*. Cf. ll. 7–8 above, Paharpur, l. 6 (*śramaṇācāryya*) and 6/13 (*adhiṣṭhita[sad]vihāre*); see also pp. 46–7.

Confusion of *ṇ/n* is observed also elsewhere in this text, and throughout the corpus. In l. 7 it is clearly not *-trayyām* that has been written.

18–19. *nigranthaputrajitānāgatābhyāgatānān*: emend *nigranthaputrajitānāgatābhyāgatānān*. Cf. l. 9.

19. *tannivāsinañ*: emend *tannivāsinañ*.

19. *cā[n]y(ā)dyapiṇḍapāṇipātr(ī)kātibhōjya-*: emend *cānyādyapiṇḍapāṇipātrikādibhōjya-*. Cf. l. 10.

20. *-saṃskārādyarththa*: emend *-saṃskārādyarththam*.

20. *-kulyavāpa*: emend *-kulyavāpañ*.

21. *grāmakūpa-*: emend *grāmakūṭa-*.

22. *da*: this akṣara seems to be intrusive.

23. *vihāratra(ya)*: it is unclear whether the plate is very worn here, or whether the original engraving was not carried out properly; emend *vihāratrayyām?*

24. *dātavyām*: emend *dātavyam*.

TRANSLATION

(1–3) Hail! From Puṇḍravardhana, the officials and the council of the capital greet the landholders, beginning with the Brahmins, in [the hamlets] Śiṣīpuñja and Madhyamasṛgālikā, falling under (*prāveśya*)²⁰ the village Ārya, and in Grāmakūṭagohālī, falling under Abjataṭāpagaccha,²¹ (all three) in the Ṣaṇḍika division,²² and they inform:

(3–13) Nāgvasu petitions us: ‘The sale, in your council, of waste land that is without revenue charges and yields no tax, to be enjoyed in perpetuity in accordance with the law on permanent endowments, is customary with a *kulyavāpa* for (the price of) two *dināras*. Thus (*tad*), for me too,²³ with this very procedure, for the regular performance of (offerings of) perfume, incense, flowers, lamps, grain oblation (*bali*), rice oblation (*caru*), food oblation (*nivedya*), etc. to the venerable Arhants at the three monasteries superintended by the ascetic (*kṣamaṇa*) masters Jinadāsa and Karṇaka—[thus:] the two monasteries at Śiṣīpuñja [and Madhyamasṛgālikā] as well as the monastery founded by the Brahmin ... in Grāmakūṭagohālī —; and for the sake of food for those who use their (cupped) hands as bowl (*pāṇipātrika*) for morsels which were intended

to be eaten by others (i.e. leftovers), and others, among the Nigranthaputras who have defeated past and future (*karman*) resident there, as well as repairs, etc. of what is broken into pieces, be so kind as take from me four *dīnāras* and to give two *kulyavāpas* of waste land yielding no tax—thus: a half *kulyavāpa* of waste land at Śiṣīpuñja, a *kulyavāpa* of waste land at Madhyamaśṛgālikā, a half *kulyavāpa* of waste land at Grāmakūṭagohālī.’

(13–16) ‘Wherefore, after confirmation through an investigation by the first (*prathama*) record-keeper Śarva and the primary (*ādya*) record-keepers Prīti, Viṣṇudhara, Jayadatta, Rāmadatta, Sudarśanaśrīdāsa and Bhavadāsa, and after having taken in cash four *dīnāras* from the side of Nāgavasū, (the two *kulyavāpas*) must be given.’²⁴

(16–24) And the two *kulyavāpas* of waste land without revenue charges and yielding no tax—thus: a half *kulyavāpa* of waste land at Śiṣīpuñja, a *kulyavāpa* of waste land at Madhyamaśṛgālikā, a half *kulyavāpa* of waste land at Grāmakūṭagohālī—for the regular performance of (offerings of) perfume, incense, flowers, lamps, grain oblation, rice oblation, food oblation, etc. to the venerable Arhants at the three monasteries at Śiṣīpuñja, Śrīgohālī²⁵ and Grāmakūṭagohālī, superintended by the ascetic masters Jinadāsa and Karṇaka, and for the sake of food for those who use their (cupped) hands as bowl for morsels which were intended to be eaten by others, and others, among the Nigranthaputras who have defeated past and future (*karman*) resident there, as well as repairs, etc. of what is broken into pieces, are to be given by you to the three monasteries, after you have separated them off with sixfold reeds (*ṣaṭkanala*) in a place that does not conflict with your own cultivation, and are to be protected in perpetuity in accordance with the law on permanent endowments.

(24–6) It has been said by the venerable Vyāsa:

- I. The one who would steal land given by himself or another becomes a worm in excrement and is cooked with his ancestors.
- II. The giver of land revels sixty thousand years in heaven; the one who challenges (a

donation) as well as the one who approves (of the challenge) will reside as many [years] in hell.

Year 198, Śrāvāṇa, day

No. 4: A fragment of a second plate from Baigram

I found this fragment by chance during perusal of the Museums of India website, which indicates that it is preserved at the Indian Museum, Kolkata, under accession number A20050/9085.²⁶ Subsequently, I learned from Ryosuke Furuī that he has indeed seen the fragment in that museum, and was able to make the photographs that he has kindly allowed me to publish here. The website indicates dimensions 4.9 × 4.7 cm, and provenance from Baigram in Bangladesh. Although no mention of this fragment is known to me from any printed publication of the colonial or post-colonial periods, the information about provenance is borne out by several correspondences with the known Baigram plate.

TEXT

OBVERSE (Pl. 14)

- (1) ///pitṛā śivanandinā///
- (2) ///ca śvaśuraśivanandi///
- (3) ///vaśadaṅ gacchanti ruca///
- (4) ///dīnārikkyakulyavāpavi///
- (5) ///saṅgahya sa devakulavā///
- (6) /// ya ca vaṭa(gohālīkhi)///

5. *saṅgahya*: the intended reading may have been [*upa*]saṅgṛhya. Although not occurring in the published Baigram plate, there are several occurrences in related inscriptions. See, e.g. in this article the Raktamālā grant #2, l. 9 and the Tāvira grant, l. 10.

REVERSE (Pl. 15)

- (1) *mostly illegible*
- (2) ///(ro)dha °upacaya °eva_///
- (3) ///nandivaṅganandiya_///
- (4) ///yikṛtya ◊ śīgo°uli///
- (5) ///stuno doṇavapaca///
- (6) ///ri _ y(ū)yaṁ svakarṣaṇā///



Pl. 14. Obverse of the fragment of a plate from Baigram (Photo Ryosuke Furui, 2015)



Pl. 15. Reverse of the fragment of a plate from Baigram (Photo Ryosuke Furui, 2015)

4. *śigo^ouli*: if this is indeed what was written, the intended reading must have been *śrīgohālī*. On this toponym best known from the published Baigram plate, see below, pp. 40–2.
5. *doṇavapaca*: the intended reading was [*sthalavā*] *stuno droṇavāpaca* [*tuṣṭayan̄*]. See the published Baigram plate, lines 9 and 16–18.
6. *ri _*: perhaps restore/read [*catvā*] *ri 4*?

Observations

The contents, to the extent recoverable, reveal a clear connection with the published Baigram grant, because the name Śivanandin figures there too (as father of the purchasers Bhoyila and Bhāskara in ll. 3–4: *āvayoh̄ pitrā śivanandinā*), as do the toponyms Vaṭagohālī and Śrīgohālī. It is remarkable that this fragment contains several incomplete akṣaras—a kind of error not encountered with such frequency, if at all, in other inscriptions of the corpus. Nevertheless, the fragment is a valuable little scrap of information, revealing that the known Baigram plate must have been part of a hoard, that would have contained two or more plates forming the archive of a particular shrine or family, like the Damodarpur plates.

III. Historical and Philological Commentary

The meaning of gohālī

So far, while no attestations of the word *gohālī* are known to me from any other first-millennium source, epigraphic or otherwise, there were occurrences of this word in four inscriptions of Gupta-period Bengal:

(a) Baigram plate, ll. 1–3:

svasti pañcanagaryyā bhaṭṭāarakapādānudhyātah̄
 ◇ *kumārāmātyakulavṛddhir etadvīṣayādihikaraṇāñ*
ca vāyigrāmikatrivṛtaśrīgohālyoh̄ brāhmaṇottarān
samvyavahāripramukhān grāmakuṭumbinaḥ ◇ *kuśalam*
anuvarṇya bodhayanti

‘Hail! From Pañcanagarī, the princely advisor Kulavṛddhi, favoured by the feet of His Majesty the (Gupta) Sovereign, and the council of this district, greet the landholders of the village in (the hamlets) Trivṛtā and Śrīgohālī belonging to Vāyigrāma—the most eminent among them being the Brahmins, led by the administrator (*samvyavahārin*)—and inform them’. There are further occurrences of the toponym Śrīgohālī in lines 8 and 16 of the same inscription. The same has now also been found, apparently as equivalent to Madhyamasṛgālikā, in Nāgavasū’s grant (l. 16) and in the Baigram fragment.

(b) Paharpur plate, ll. 1–3:

svasti puṇḍravarddhanād āyuktakā
 °āryyanagaraśreṣṭhipurogañ cādhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇam* ◊
 dakṣiṇāmśakavītheyanāgiratṭamāṇḍalikapalāsāṭṭapā-
 rśvikavaṭagohālījambudevaprāveśyapṛṣṭhimapottaka-
 goṣāṭapuñjakamūlanāgiratṭapṛāveśyavilvagohālīṣu
 brāhmaṇottarān mahattarādikuṭumbinaḥ kuśalam
 anuvarṇnyānubodhayanti

‘Hail! From Puṇḍravardhana, the officers and the city council led by the noble urban trader, greet the landholders, beginning with the notables—the most eminent among them being the Brahmins—in Vaṭagohālī by the side of Palāsāṭṭa in the Nāgiratṭa circle of the Dakṣiṇāmśaka division, in Pṛṣṭhimapottaka under Jambudeva, in Goṣāṭapuñjaka, and in Bilvagohālī under Mūlanāgiratṭa, and inform them’. After several other occurrences of the toponyms Vaṭagohālī and Bilvagohālī in ll. 6, 7, 9, 12, 14, 15, we read in l. 18: *uparinirddiṣṭagrāmagohālikeṣu*. The toponym Vaṭagohālī has now also been found in the Baigram fragment.

(c) Jagadishpur plate, ll. 1–3:

svasti śṛṅgaveravaitheyapūrṇṇakauśikāyāḥ
 bhātṭāarakapādānuddhyātah °āyuktakācyuto
 dhikaraṇañ ca gulmagandhike sagohālike brāhmaṇādīn
 pradhānakuṭumbinaḥ kuśalam āśāsya bodhayanti
 ‘Hail! From Pūrṇṇakauśikā in the Śṛṅgavera division, the officer Acyuta, favoured by the feet of the (Gupta) Sovereign, and the council (of this division), greet the principal landholders, beginning with the Brahmins, at Gulmagandhika with its *gohālīs*, and inform them’. For *sagohālike*, Sircar read *sa[m*]ggohālike [ca*]* in 1969, and (*saṁ*)-*gohālike (ca*)* in 1973, clearly assuming a toponym Saṁgohālika parallel to Gulmagandhika. There is definitely only a single *g*, so *gg* in the 1969 edition was probably a misprint. The anusvāra seems to have been restored by Sircar on the grounds that he read *saṁgohālīṣu* in the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate, but the presence of an anusvāra there is doubtful, and there is certainly no *ca*: see the next entry. As soon as the reading *sagohālike* is accepted, it becomes clear that we are dealing with an adjective to the toponym Gulmagandhika so that the need to insert *ca* disappears.

(d) Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate, ll. 1–2:

svasti śṛṅgaveravaitheyapūrṇṇakoś(i)kāyāḥ
 °āyuktakācyutadāso dhikaraṇañ ca hastiśīrṣe
 (vibhītak)y(ām gulmagandhi)kāyām dhānyapāṭalikāyām
 sagohālīṣu brāhmaṇādīn grāmak(u)ṭumbina(h k)uśalam
 anuvarṇya bodhayanti

‘Hail! From Pūrṇṇakauśikā in the Śṛṅgavera division, the officer Acyutadāsa and the council greet the landholders, beginning with the Brahmins, of the villages Hastiśīrṣa, Vibhītakī, Gulmagandhikā [and] Dhānyapāṭalikā, with their (respective) *gohālīs*, and inform them’. Sanyal read *sagohālīṣu*, where Sircar read *saṁgohālīṣu*. The presence of anusvāra is unclear and the former reading makes it possible to understand *sagohālīṣu* here as an adjective to the toponyms Hastiśīrṣa, etc.

These data quite clearly demonstrate that *gohālī* was a noun, which could be used as such or for building toponyms. The toponym Nīvagohālī read by Dikshit (and after him by Sircar and subsequent scholars) in the Paharpur plate is quite clearly revealed by the published reproduction of the estampage to be a wrong reading for Bilvagohālī. This means that the Paharpur plate contains two toponyms built with tree names (Vaṭa and Bilva) in compound with *gohālī*. Besides these we have found Śṛīgohālī, where *śrī* may stand as a synonym of *bilva*, in which case Bilvagohālī and Śṛīgohālī, not found together in a single text, might have designated the same place. However that may be, the fourth *gohālī*-toponym, Grāmakūṭagohālī, that we now encounter in Nāgavasū’s grant, makes clear that *gohālī*-toponyms did not necessarily involve tree names, because *grāmakūṭa* means something like ‘village headman’.²⁷ Dikshit speculated about the possible persistence into modern times of such a toponym mentioned in the Paharpur plate (1929–30: 60):

The Jaina *vihāra* at Vaṭa-Gohālī mentioned in this inscription, it would appear, must have stood at the original site of the present temple at Pāhārpur. The boundaries of the site are partly situated within the limits of the village of Gōālbhīṭā to the north-west and the mound where the temples has been unearthed was pointed out to Dr. Buchanan

Hamilton in 1807 as ‘Gōālbhīṭār Pāhār’ (the eminence of Gōālbhīṭā). The identification of Gōālbhīṭā with the ancient Vaṭa-Gohālī easily suggests itself as the stem Gohālī is substantially identical with Gōāl.

And Sircar (1965: 360 n. 1) concurred: ‘The word *gohālī* (Sanskrit *gośālā*; Bengali *goāl*) suggests that either Vaṭa-gohālī or Nitva-gohālī (possibly the former which was a more important place owing to the situation of the Jain Vihāra) is to be identified with the village of Goālbhīṭā, near Pāhārpur.’ Now that it is starting to become clear that toponyms ending in *gohālī* were a rather common feature of the ancient landscape in the area covered by our corpus, it seems that we should be more prudent in making connections with specific modern places, all the more so as modern toponyms containing *goāl* seem to begin rather than to end with this element.²⁸

The epigraphical data include the diminutive form *gohālīke* and the attributive compound *sagohālī/sagohālīka* derived from *gohālī* according to regular processes of Sanskrit grammar. These data also show that *gohālī* has something to do with *grāma*: the expression *uparinirddiṣṭagrāmagothālīkeṣu* in the Paharpur plate could mean either ‘in the above-mentioned villages and *gohālīs*’ or ‘in the *gohālīs* of the above-mentioned villages’; but the fact that in a parallel context, the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate, ll. 24–5, writes *yathoparinirddiṣṭakagrāmapradeśeṣu*, suggests that we should retain the second option and assign to *grāmagothālī* a meaning analogous to *grāmapradeśa* ‘a spot in or part of a village’.

Now did *gohālī* simply mean the same thing as Sanskrit *gośālā* and Bengali *goāl*, namely ‘cow shed’? The data can perhaps not be said to exclude this assumption altogether, and if this is what *gohālī* meant then we would have to assume that cow sheds were important markers in the landscape of ancient North Bengal. However, the above-cited passages from the opening paragraphs of address in four grants each clearly use *gohālī* to indicate parts of *social* space, namely the places where the respective addressees resided; and it is hard to imagine that prominent householders resided in cow sheds. I therefore

propose the hypothesis that the *tadbhava* word in question had undergone a semantic shift, and was used in the period and area that concern us in a meaning like ‘hamlet’. In support of this, I may cite the *Hindīśabdasaṅgāra*, s.v. गोशाला: ‘गौओं के रहने का स्थान (= place for cows to stay), गोष्ठ’ and s.v. गोष्ठ, where, apart from गोशाला and a few other meanings, we find as sixth meaning: ‘अहीरों का गाँव village of Ahirs’. In New Indo-Aryan languages other than Bengali or Hindi, some of the words derived from Sanskrit *goṣṭha*, synonymous with Sanskrit *gośālā*, have such meanings, notably Sindhi *goṭhu* m. ‘village, town’.²⁹ If we thus assume a meaning like ‘hamlet’ for *gohālī* in North Bengal around the turn of the sixth century, this means we are dealing with a dialectal meaning, which has either disappeared from or not been recorded for any Prakrit languages or for Bengali, where *goāl* seems to mean only ‘cow shed’.

Delimitation of land and placement of boundary markers (sīmācīhna)

In lines 23–4 of Nāgavasū’s grant, the instruction to go and delimit the plots of land to be transferred to the beneficiaries is expressed in *ṣaṭkanala*. This unit is only found elsewhere in the Paharpur plate, ll. 19–20: *tad yuṣmābhīḥ svakarṣaṇāvirodhīsthāne ṣaṭkanaḍair apaviṇcchya dātavyo* ‘so you must separate them off with sixfold reeds, in a place that does not conflict with your own cultivation, and make the donation’. Since that plate as well as Nāgavasū’s grant are the only inscriptions issued from Puṇḍravardhana in the corpus, one may infer that this was a unit prevalent in the city.³⁰

In the Tāvira grant, the passage concerning demarcation of the gifted land contains the words *catussīmācīhnanīyamīṭāni kṛtvā*. In order to determine what the boundary markers (*sīmācīhna*) intended here were, we may turn to a passage in the Nandapur plate, ll. 14–15: *cīvakālasthāvītuṣāṅgārādīcīhnaīś caturddīnīyamīṭas[ī]-mānaṁ kṛtvā*.³¹ And this, in turn, is elucidated by the following words from the Baigram plate, ll. 17–20: ... °akṣayanīvyās tāmrapaṭṭena dattam* ninna ku 3 sthala dro 2 te yūyaṁ svakarṣaṇāvirodhīsthāne darvīkarmmahastenāṣṭakanavakanaḷābhīyām apavi-

ñchya ◊ *cirakālasthayituṣāṅgārādīnā cihnaiś cāturddiśo niyamya dāsyathākṣyanīvidharmmena ca śaśvatkālam anupālayiṣyatha* ‘... has been given with a copper plate for a permanent endowment. Low: 3 *ku*[*lyavāpa*]; inhabitable: 2 *dro*[*ṇavāpa*]. You there (the *grāmakuṭumbins* mentioned at the start of the grant) shall separate them off using two reeds, eight by ninefold with the ladle-work (*darvikarma*) cubit,³² in a place that does not conflict with your own cultivation; shall limit them in the four directions with long-lasting markers such as (pots filled with) chaff or charcoal; shall make the donation and shall protect it in perpetuity according to the law on permanent endowments.’

We see that the total of gifted land in the Baigram plate is summarised with the indication *ninna ku 3 sthala dro 2* (l. 17). On the word *ninna* in this summary, R.G. Basak as editor of the inscription made the following note (1931–2: 82 n. 2): ‘This word put before the abbreviated totalisation of the amount of land purchased does not appear to me explicable.’ The editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* issue in question³³ added a note of his own stating that ‘*Phuṭṭa* (= Skt. *sphuṭṭa*) in line 7 would suggest that it might stand for Skt. *nimna* meaning low land’. This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact that *nimna* and *sthala* form a fixed pair. See Rāmāyaṇa 6.93.19 (ed. Vaidya 1971) *sthalanimnāni bhūmeś ca*, but particularly these stanzas from the Nāradaśmṛti (11.3–5, ed. and transl. Lariviere 1989):

grāmasīmāsu ca bahir ye syus tatkr̥ṣijīvinah |
gopaśākunikavyādhā ye cānye vanagocarāḥ | |
samunnayeyus te sīmām lakṣaṇair upalakṣitām |
tuṣāṅgārakapālais ca kumbhair āyatanair
drumaiḥ | |
abhijñatāis ca valmīka**sthalanimnon**natādibhiḥ |
kedārārāmamārgaiś ca purāṇaiḥ setubhis tathā | |
In the case of the village boundaries, those who make their living by farming outside it, cowherds, bird catchers, hunters and others who inhabit the forest should delineate the boundary which is marked by such things as pots—**of chaff, charcoal** or crockery—shrines, trees, and by familiar markers such as ant hills, mounds, **depressions, elevations**, etc., and paddies, groves, roads, or old dikes.

In the context of the Baigram plate, the word *ninna*=*nimna* seems to serve as an equivalent to *khilakṣetra* (see n. 2). The Nāradaśmṛti passage just cited also clarifies another word figuring in the Baigram and the Nandapur plates, viz. *tuṣāṅgāra*. The somewhat cryptic statement of the Nāradaśmṛti passage is in turn clarified by the following passage translated from fragments of the Bṛhaspatismṛti (Jolly 1889: 351):

1. This rule regarding rescission of purchase and sale has been declared. Hear the laws concerning boundaries of villages, fields, houses, and so forth.
2. The determination of boundaries should be settled at the time of foundation, and it should be marked by visible and invisible signs, so as to dispel doubt.
3. Wells, tanks, pools, large trees, gardens, temples, mounds, channels, the course of a river, reeds, shrubs, or piles of stones.
4. By such visible signs as these a boundary line should always be caused to be marked; also, by other (marks) deposited underground which the earth is not likely to destroy.
5. Dry cowdung, bones, chaff, charcoal, stones, potsherds, sand, bricks, cows’ tails, cotton seeds, and ashes.
6. After having placed these substances in vessels, one should deposit them underground at the extremities of the boundary.³⁴

Tāvira: a frontier district?

The petitioner in the Tāvira grant was a district chief (*viṣayapati*) named Dvīpasoma who was in charge of *tāviraviṣaya*. Now the toponym Tāvira is actually attested in two plates dated to the reign of Śaśāṅka in the early seventh century. These plates ‘were collected from one Surat Khan of the village of Antla in the present Dantan Police Station of the district of West Medinipur’ (Sanyal 2010: 123), i.e. from the Bengal/Orissa border area on the left bank of the Subarnarekha. R.C. Majumdar, who edited the plates, speculated that ‘*Tāvira*, the administrative headquarters in Daṇḍabhukti, from which both the grants were issued, may be identified with Debra about 15 miles southeast-east of Midnapore’ (1945: 7). This identification is not supported by anything more

than the resemblance of the names;³⁵ somewhat further to the north, in Burdwan District, is a village Teora whose name might equally well derive from ancient Tāvīra, to mention just one other possibility. Wherever Tāvīra of the seventh-century grants lay precisely, if indeed this toponym was situated in one of the districts of what is today the southern part of West Bengal, and if the Tāvīra of those plates is the same as that in the new inscription, we will have to accept the corollary that our grant concerns a donation made quite a distance away from the Rajshahi-Bogra area where most of the plates of the corpus originate (see the map in Pl. 1). Resisting the temptation to speculate on how a grant that would then concern a region falling outside of the territory of what is today Bangladesh could have ended up in a Dhaka antique shop, I adduce several arguments here that may lend credibility to the hypothesis that our Tāvīra was a frontier district of the Gupta realm at a significant distance from Puṇḍravardhana.

First, it is perhaps no coincidence that the only other case of a named *viśayapati* in our corpus was the Chatramaha of the Nandapur plate, whose provenance makes it a western outlier in the corpus. The name of the district under his charge is not made explicit in this plate, which does mention that the beneficiary hailed from a Nandavīthī—but this of course does not necessarily mean that Chatramaha governed Nandavīthī.³⁶ The data presently available allow formulating the hypothesis, however tentative, that *viśayapatis* were appointed to govern outlying territories. In any case, the Nandapur grant shows that the emission of land-sale grants in the Gupta-period was not limited to the immediate environs of Puṇḍravardhana.

A concrete indicator of a location at the frontier of the Gupta realm may be read in the fact that, with a total of 22 *kulyavāpas* distributed over two plots, the Tāvīra grant is double the size of what was so far the largest land-grant in the corpus, viz. the 11 *kulyavāpas* for two plots in the Koṭivarṣa district whose donation is recorded in the Damodarpur plate #4 (ll. 10–11: *kokāmukhasvāmīśvetavarā[ha]svāmī[noḥ]*

apradākṣetrakulyavāpā ekādaśa dattakās), while most donations amounted to five *kulyavāpas* or less.³⁷ If it is safe to work under the assumptions (a) that the *kulyavāpa* was a stable land measure throughout the period in question and (b) that correspondences between the measures *kulyavāpa* and *droṇavāpa* known to be valid in ancient Puṇḍravardhana were also valid between different subregions of ancient Bengal, as does C. Gupta (1989),³⁸ then we may apply to the Tāvīra grant the same inferences that she draws from the comparison of the records of northeastern Bengal with the land grant recorded in the Gunaighar inscription from the Trans-Meghna area of southeastern Bengal, which is contemporary with our corpus but reflects a different socio-political and natural landscape (1989: 276):

It appears from this inscription that in this part of the Gupta dominion there was not yet much scarcity of land, and as such, instead of *kulyavāpa*, *pātaka* became the standard unit of land-measurement here. One *pātaka* was equivalent to five *kulyavāpas*, and the present record is concerned with transactions of eleven such *khīla-pātakas*. If we recall in this connection the maximum amount of land purchased by the *nagaraśreṣṭhīn* Ṛbhupāla at Koṭivarṣa-*viśaya*, then the changed ecological setting becomes understandable to some extent.

The inferences drawn from comparison with the Gunaighar plate of year 188 would now seem to be confirmed by a more recently discovered inscription from Southeast Bengal (ed. Furui 2015), dated to year 184, which concerns the donation of no fewer than 28 plots of land for a total extent of 1,235 *droṇavāpas*, which is thought to be equivalent to nearly 155 *kulyavāpas*—still working under the assumptions formulated above. Even if these working assumptions are not tenable, the much greater extent of the land donated in the Tāvīra grant, compared to the average size of land-grants in the Puṇḍravardhana region, remains noteworthy, and suggests that Tāvīra lay in a region where social and ecological conditions were different. The fact that the Brahmin beneficiary seems to be identified as a *rājāmātya* ‘royal advisor’,³⁹ a term not so far encountered in other Gupta-period plates, will then be easily

accommodated in the hypothesis, by speculating that such *rājāmātyas* were settled at the frontiers to represent the crown's interests.

The last but certainly not the least interesting unique characteristic of the Tāvira grant is the fact that after three of the standard admonitory stanzas, it includes a fourth stanza, in Upodgatā meter, that has never been found in other inscriptions as far as I can tell, and certainly not in Bengal. What is more, this stanza is not taken from Epic, Purāṇic or *dharmasāstra* literature but, with only minor variants, from a known *kāvya* work, viz. Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, where we read in stanzas 76–8 of canto 5 these words spoken by Siddhārtha, the future Buddha, to his steed Kanthaka (ed. and transl. Johnston 1935–6):

sulabhāḥ khalu saṁyuge sahāyā
viṣayāvāptasukhe dhanārjane vā |
puruṣasya tu durlabhāḥ sahāyāḥ patitasyāpadi
dharmasamśraye vā || 76 ||
iha caiva bhavanti ye sahāyāḥ kaluṣe
karmaṇi dharmasamśraye vā |
avagacchati me yathāntarātmā niyataṁ te
'pi janās tadamsabhājah || 77 ||
tad idaṁ pariḡamya dharmayuktaṁ mama
niryāṇam ito jagaddhitāya |
turagottama vegavikramābhyāṁ
prayatasvātmahite jagaddhite ca || 78 ||

75. Easy it is to find companions for battle, for the pleasure of acquiring objects of sense and for the accumulation of wealth; but hard it is for a man to find companions, when he has fallen into distress or attaches himself to *dharma*.

76. Moreover as for those who are companions in this world whether in action that brings defilement or in resort to *dharma*, undoubtedly they too, as my inner soul realises, take their share of the fruit.

77. Understand therefore, O best of steeds, this my departure from here to be connected with *dharma* for the benefit of the world, and strive with speed and courage in a matter which concerns your own good and the good of the world alike.

The redeployment of the stanza in our context raises interesting questions of literary history, which unfortunately may not detain us here. The important point is that the presence of this concluding stanza sets the Tāvira grant apart from all other inscriptions in the corpus.

Vaidika and Jaina beneficiaries

The majority of the beneficiaries of the grants recorded in our corpus are Vedic Brahmins, and the epigraphic material of early Bengal has already been analysed from the point of view of the social history of the Brahmins. The new plates published here do not contain any new data beyond additions to the prosopographic database that has been compiled and recently published by R. Furui (2017). I refer, therefore, to the same scholar's article presenting a synthesis on the history of Brahmins in the early history of Bengal (Furui 2013), with the updated perspectives formulated in his more recent contribution (2017: 181–2). Since they are not cited by Furui, I mention here also the important overview of earlier philological and historical work by M. Witzel (1993) and a recent study by A. Schmiedchen (2007), which offers important comments on the social realities behind the term *cāturvidya* 'belonging to the community of [Brahmins] studying the four Vedas', that we have encountered above in the Raktamālā plate #2, notably with regard to the question whether the term is evidence or not for the presence of Brahmins affiliated to the Atharvaveda. So far, the corpus has brought us evidence only of named Brahmins belonging to the White Yajurveda (*vājasaneyā*) and Sāmaveda (*chandoga*) traditions.

The corpus also contains a small number of grants to temples (Baigram, Damodarpur #4), but none of the new plates belongs to this subgroup. Besides the two donations to Brahmins recorded in the Raktamālā plate #2 and in the Tāvira grant, the new material contains a donation made to a group of three monasteries which I have above identified as Jaina. This identification was not immediately evident to me when I started studying the inscription, in part because of the poor state of preservation of the plate. I will present here the evidence which led to the conclusion that we are dealing with a grant to Jaina monks.

It will be helpful to start by repeating the two relevant passages from Nāgavasū's grant, which

express twice almost exactly the same information, restored and emended in accordance with my edition and notes above:

LINES 5–10:

*śiṣīpuñjamaddhyamasṛgālikā _ _ _ _ _
kāritakavihāradvayam grāmakūṭagohālyām
brāhmaṇā _ _ ṇḍanakāritakavihāra _ _ evam
vihāratrayasya kṣamaṇācāryyajinadāsakarṇṇakābhyām
adhiṣṭhitāyām bhagavatām arhatām
gandhadhūpasumanodīpabalicarunivedyādīpravarttanāya
ni[r]granthaputrajitānāgatābhyāgatānān tannivāsinañ
cānyādyapiṇḍapāṇīpātrikādibhojyakhaṇḍaphuṭṭapra-
saṃskārādyupayogāya*

LINES 16–20:

*śiṣīpuñjaśrīgohāligrāmakūṭagohālyāñ ca
vihāratrayāyām kṣamaṇācāryyajinadāsakarṇṇakābhyām
adhiṣṭhitāyām bhagavatām arhatām
gandhadhūpasumanodīpabalicarunivedyādīpravarttanāya
ni[r]granthaputrajitānāgatābhyāgatānān tannivāsinañ
cānyādyapiṇḍapāṇīpātrikādibhojyakhaṇḍaphuṭṭapra-
saṃskārādyartham*

In interpreting these passages, I was for a long time on the wrong track, by imagining a term *ni[r]granthaputrajita*, whose *prima facie* meaning would have been ‘defeated by the sons of the Nirgrantha’, but which I considered to be an inverted compound (Oberlies 2003: XLIV, 361), making it translatable as ‘by whom the sons of the Nirgrantha have been defeated’, which seemed like a potential designation of Buddhist or Ājīvika monks. My problems of interpretation were made worse by the presence of gaps in the first passage, by errors of spelling of certain terms or differences between the two passages, notably for the string that reads *cānyādyapiṇḍapāṇīpātrikādi-* in emended form, and by the fact that the term *kṣamaṇa* (see below) is not found in any Sanskrit dictionaries.⁴⁰ The process of resolving these problems started by reading the above data from Nāgavasū’s grant in conjunction with parallel passages from two previously published inscriptions:

(a) Jagadishpur, ll. 8–12 (emended): *°icchāmaḥ
dakṣiṇānśakavithyām pecikāmrāsiddhyāyatane*⁴¹
*bhagavatām arhatām kāritakavihāre gulmagandhike
cārhatām pūjārttham kāritakaprāntavihārike*

*tatraiva gulmagandhike bhagavatas sahasraraśmeḥ
kāritakadevakule ca balicarusatrapravarttanāya
khaṇḍaphuṭṭapratisaṃskārakaraṇāya gandhadhūpa-
tailopayogāya śasvatkālopabhogyākṣayanīvyā-m-
apratikarakhilakṣetrasya kulyavāpam ekaṃ krītvā
dātum*

‘For offerings of *bali*, *caru* and *sattra*, for carrying out the repair of what is broken into pieces, (and) for requirements of perfumes, incense, and oil in the monastery commissioned for the venerable Arhants in the shrine of Pecikāmrāsiddhi in the Dakṣiṇāmśaka division, and in the little peripheral monastery commissioned for the purpose of worshipping the Arhants at Gulmagandhika, and in the temple commissioned for the Lord Sahasraraśmi (i.e. Sūrya) in the same Gulmagandhika, we wish to purchase and give one *kulyavāpa* of waste land without revenue charges by way of permanent endowment to be enjoyed in perpetuity’. After which we read in ll. 17–18: *ṣaḍdroṇavāpāḥ śravaṇakācāryyabalakuṇḍasya samāveśitāḥ*, possibly to be emended and translated as follows: *ṣaḍdroṇavāpāḥ śramaṇakācāryyabalakuṇḍasya vihāre samāveśitāḥ* ‘the six *droṇavāpas* were entrusted to the monastery of the *śramaṇaka* master Balakuṇḍa’.

(b) Paharpur, ll. 5–9 (emended): *tad
arhathāneṇaiva kkrameṇāvayos sakāśād dīnāratrayam
upasaṃgrhyāvayoh svapunyaṅpyāyanāya vaṭagohālyām
evāsyaṃ kāśikapañcastūpanikāyikanī[r]granthaśra-
maṇācāryyaguhanandiśiṣyapraśiṣyadhīṣṭhitavihāre
bhagavatām arhatām gandhadhūpasumanodīpādyarthan
talavāṭakanimittaṃ ca [...] evam adhyarddham
kṣetrakulyavāpam akṣayanīvyā dātum*

‘So, in this very manner, be so kind as to take from both of us three *dīnāras* and—for the purpose of the merit of the both of us being increased—to give as permanent endowment, for the sake of perfume, incense, flowers and lamps, etc. for the venerable Arhants in the monastery at the same Vaṭagohālī here, overseen by the disciples and grand-disciples of the Nirgrantha *śramaṇa* master Guhanandin of the Kāśika-Pañcastūpa order and for the purpose of (use as) adjoining parcel: [...] thus one-and-a-half *kulyavāpa* of land.’ The same basic information is repeated in ll. 12–16 of the inscription.

With regard to the Jagadishpur plate, its editor D.C. Sircar unhesitatingly assumed that the monastic beneficiaries were Buddhists, and his great authority has led several subsequent scholars to accept this idea. Schopen (1990: 208–9/1997: 281, n. 26) was more prudent and pointed to the significant parallels with the Paharpur plate which certainly concerns Jaina beneficiaries, adding the important observation: ‘The mere fact that it is not always easy to distinguish Buddhist and Jain inscriptions of this sort is [...] in itself significant.’ We will see below some examples of overlap between the technical terminology of the two religions. But to return to the affiliation of the Jagadishpur plate, which is the least explicit of the three grants, the sum of the evidence presented in this section persuades me that its beneficiaries were Jaina monks as well. Their abbot is here called *śravaṇakācāryya*, probably an error for *śramaṇakācāryya*.

The Paharpur plate speaks of a *kāśīkapañca-stūpanikāyikani[r]granthaśramaṇācāryya*, and the reading *śramaṇa* here is secure. This word can indicate not only Jainas, but also Buddhist and Ājīvikas. For the former, see the Sanchi inscription cited below; for the latter, see the aforementioned plate dated to year 184 from Southeast Bengal, where we read (ll. 3–4, ed. Furui 2015): *pūrvamaṇḍalajayanāṭane bhagavataś caturmmukhamūrṭter mma[ṇi]bhadrasyāyatana-m-ājīvakabhadantaśramaṇasaṃghāya* ‘for the sake of the community of respectable Ājīvika *śramaṇas* at the abode of the venerable Maṇibhadra in four-faced image in Jayanāṭana of Pūrvamaṇḍala’. But the Jaina affiliation of the Paharpur grant is beyond doubt, because the *pañcastūpanikāya* is a known name for a Jaina order⁴² and Jaina affiliation is implied also by the term *nirgrantha*.⁴³ Incidentally, this word is consistently spelt *nirgrantha* in the four occurrences in our corpus, perhaps because of subliminal influence from its Prakrit form *niggantha*.

Now our new inscription contains the variant *kṣamaṇa*, which is known only in Jaina context, and to my knowledge only once elsewhere in South Asian epigraphy, viz. in the Vidiśā stone image inscriptions of the time of *mahārājādhirāja*

Śrī Rāmagupta. The best preserved of these three copies of what is basically a single text, labelled A in Bhandarkar’s edition (1981: 231–4), reads as follows:⁴⁴

- (1) bhagavato rhaṭaḥ candraprabhasya pratimeyam kārītā ma-
- (2) hārājādhirājaśrīrāmaguptena °upadeśāt pāṇipā-
- (3) trikacandrakṣam(āṇ)ācāryyakṣamaṇaśramaṇa-praśiṣya °ācā-
- (4) ryyasarppasenakṣamaṇaśiṣyasya golakyāntyā(h) satputrasya cellakṣamaṇasyeti ||

This image of the Lord, the Arhant Candraprabha, was commissioned by the *mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Rāmagupta, at the instigation of Cella-kṣamaṇa, son of Golakyāntī, who is the pupil of the preceptor Sarpasenakṣamaṇa and the grand-pupil of the *pāṇipātrika* Candrakṣamaṇa, preceptor (*ācārya*) and forbearing monk (*kṣamaṇaśramaṇa*).

In his recent article giving a useful overview of what is known about Jainism in North India during the Gupta period, P. Dundas (2014: 239, n. 16) affirms that ‘there is no doubt that the expression appended to these monks’s names is the same as the Prākṛit honorific *khamāsamaṇa* (~Sanskrit *kṣamāśramaṇa*), and has perhaps been misheard or misunderstood as being in a quasi-rhyming relationship with *-śramaṇa* by a scribe unfamiliar with Jain usage’. Although the new inscription may require rethinking of these matters, and the Vidiśā image inscriptions may have to be reinterpreted in such a way that *kṣamaṇācārya* stands as a unit, as it clearly does in our text, the main point of importance for my discussion is that the use of the term *kṣamaṇa* may be considered a clear indicator of the Jaina affiliation of the beneficiaries of Nāgavasū’s grant. The Vidiśā image inscriptions also contain another Jaina technical term that occurs in our inscription, namely *pāṇipātrika*, which has been elucidated by Dundas (2014: 239–40 n. 18):

The expression *pāṇipātrika* is a common epithet normally used of monks of the Digambara sect who differentiate themselves from the Śvetāmbaras who use alms bowls. However, the practice of using the hands as an alms bowl was also prescribed amongst

the Śvetāmbaras for advanced monks following the *jinakalpa*, the ‘practice of the Jinās’, a more intense mode of renunciant life. As noted above, the honorific *kṣamāśramaṇa*, however represented in the inscription, seems to be characteristic of Śvetāmbara usage, and the conclusion must be that the monks in question were Śvetāmbaras, although the term may not have had a formally sectarian sense at this particular time.

I am unable to find any other occurrence of the term *anyādyapiṇḍa*, which is joined here with *pāṇipātrika*, and the reading is in both instances open to doubt. If I am correct in reading this term, it appears to give expression to the rule that Jaina monks ‘were required not to accept any food or water especially prepared for them’ (Balcerowicz 2016: 110).⁴⁵

Let me now try to explicate the sequence *nīgranthaputrajītanāgatabhyāgatānāntanivāsīnā ca* which is clearly preserved only on the reverse of the plate, and whose precise reading on the front can no longer be known, but which I have proposed to emend as follows: *ni[r]-granthaputrajītanāgataābhyāgatānān tannivāsīnā ca*. The position of *ca* after the two genitive plural forms seems to be due to the author’s desire to establish a syntactic coordination between, first, the long clause ending in *pravarttanāya* and, second, the long clause ending in *pratisamskārādyupayogāya/pratisamskārādyartham*. As regards the elements *anāgata*, *abhyāgata* and *tannivāsīn*, it seems to me that the author was consciously playing with terminology that was used by his Buddhist contemporaries. Occurrences of these elements in Buddhist contexts have been discussed in a recent article by V. Tournier (2018: 67), with reference to sixth-century Sanskrit inscriptions from the Andhra region: ‘the *dvandva āgata-anāgata*, distinguishing between those who have arrived and will arrive in the future to reside at a given monastery, is uncommon in Indian inscriptions, and the term occurs almost exclusively in Pāli literature. Occurrences of the compound may thus be found in the Pāli *Vinaya*’s discussion of how residences should be dedicated to the Saṅgha, the *locus classicus* being the gift of the Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍada.’ In his discussion,

Tournier cites and translates the first three of the following epigraphical Sanskrit passages, the last two being added here by me:

- (a) *caturddigabhyāgatāryyasamṅghaparibhogāya* ‘for the enjoyment of the noble community coming from the four directions’ (*ELAD* 180, ll. 27–8)
- (b) *-mahāvihāranivāsyaḡatānāgatacaturddi-śāryyavarabhikṣusaṅghacatuṣpratyayapari-bhogārthan* ‘for the enjoyment of the four requisites by the community of noble and excellent monks of the four quarters, current and future residents of the *mahāvihāra*’ (*ELAD* 186, ll. 22–4)
- (c) *svakāritavihāre ratnatrayopayogāya catuṣpratyayanimittaṁ bhagnasphuṭi(ta ...)* *kimmājuvdevyā °āgatānāgatajetavana-vāsīsthaviracaturddiśāryyabhikṣusaṅgha ... grāmo nisṛṣṭo* ‘Kimmājuvdevī endowed the village ... to the community of noble monks of the four quarters, current and future residents of the Jetavana, the Sthaviras, to be used for the Three Jewels in the *vihāra* she had herself commissioned to be built [and, in particular] for the four requisites [and] (for the repair of) broken and shattered [parts] ...’ (Arakan copper-plate, c. 600 CE, ll. 11–12, ed. Sircar 1967)
- (d) *kuberanagarasvatalaniviṣṭayaśonandikāritavaḡḍa-vihāre tannivāsīcaturddigabhyā[ga]-tāryyabhikṣusaṅghasya ca cīvarapiṇḍapāta-śayanāsanaglānapratyayabhāiṣajyapariṣkāropayo-[gāya]* ‘in the Vaḡḍa (= old?) monastery erected by Yaśonandin on the city territory (*svatala*) of Kuberanagara, for the use for robes, alms-food, beds and seats, medicine to cure the sick of the noble order of monks coming from the four directions and residing there’ (Ambalasa Plates of Śīlāditya I, year 290 of the Valabhī = Gupta era, ll. 26–8, ed. and transl. Schmiedchen forthcoming)
- (e) *caturddigabhyāgatāya śramaṇapuṅgavāva-sathāyāryyasaṅghāya* ‘for the community of noble ones coming from the four quarters, which is the abode of most eminent

ascetics' (Sanchi stone inscription of Candragupta II, year 93 Gupta era, l. 2, Bhandarkar 1981: 250)

It will be noticed that none of these passages gives the precise combination *anāgatābhyāgata*, which indeed I am unable to find in any other context. I tentatively interpret the apparently unique expression *jītanāgatābhyāgata* as a reconfiguration of in origin Buddhist terms to express the Jaina tenet of eradication of past (*abhyāgata*) and future (*anāgata*) *karman*,⁴⁶ although I cannot exclude other possibilities, among which the most plausible one seems to be that the intended meaning of *ni[r]granthaputrajītanāgatābhyāgatānān* was 'of those who come in the present (*abhyāgata*) and in the future (*anāgata*), the conquerors (*jīta*) among the Nirgranthaputras' and that the conjunction *ca* was intended to distinguish wandering ascetics from permanent residents (*tannivāsinām*).⁴⁷

The designation *nirgranthaputra* is rather commonly used in Buddhist sources to designate Jainas and it often occurs as a 'surname' for the heretic teacher Satyaka, or Saccaka Nigaṇṭhaputta in Pali (Lamotte 1960: 39). A long passage that is particularly relevant for our copperplate issued from Puṇḍravardhana is found in the Aśokāvadāna:

tasmimś ca samaye puṇḍavardhananagare
nirgranthopāsakena buddhapratimā
nirgranthasya pādayor nipatitā citrārpitā |
upāsakenāśokasya rājño niveditaṃ | śrutvā ca
rājñābhihitam śighram āniyatam | tasyordhvam
yojanam yakṣāḥ śṛṇvanti | adho yojanam nāgāḥ |
yāvat tam tatkṣaṇena yakṣair upanitam | dṛṣtvā
ca rājñā ruṣitenābhihitam | puṇḍavardhane sarve
ājīvikāḥ praghātayitavyāḥ | yāvad ekadivase
'ṣṭādaśasahasraṇy ājīvikānām praghātītāni |

In the meantime, in the city of Puṇḍavardhana, a lay follower of Nirgrantha Jñātiputra drew a picture showing the Buddha bowing down at the feet of his master. A Buddhist devotee reported this to King Aśoka, who then ordered the man arrested and brought to him immediately. The order was heard by the nāgas as far as a yojana underground, and by the yakṣas a yojana up in the air, and the latter instantly brought the heretic before the king. Upon seeing him, Aśoka flew into

a fury and proclaimed: 'All of the Ājīvikas in the whole of Puṇḍavardhana are to be put to death at once!' And on that day, eighteen thousand of them were executed.

I cite the text after the edition of Mukhopadhyaya (1963: 67–8), and the translation of Strong (1983: 232). The reading *puṇḍavardhananagare* is of course to be corrected to *puṇḍravardhananagare*, as in the edition by K.P. Jayaswal used by P. Balcerowicz who has cited the same passage in his recent book (2016: 270), and whose comments must be quoted here:

The story is clearly fictitious and ahistorical for no images of the Buddha or the Jina are known to have existed at the time of Aśoka, and the account of the execution is similarly fictitious and ahistorical. Nevertheless, the legend may preserve a grain of truth, namely that Puṇḍravardhana had once been another centre of the Ājīvikas. Of note is that the passage is one of several examples when the term *nirgrantha* is erroneously used by the Buddhists to denote an Ājīvika.

Other evidence for such confusion on the part of Buddhist authors is added by Balcerowicz elsewhere in his book (2016: 278–9, 321). But he does not mention that the Chinese transmission in the same passage of the Aśokāvadāna, which I am able to access through the translation of J. Przyluski (1923: 278–9), uses characters corresponding to the term *nirgranthaputra* even where the Sanskrit transmission switches to *ājīvikas*. Since the Sanskrit text is available only in very late manuscripts, whereas the Chinese text translated by Przyluski dates to the third century CE, there is some reason to take the Chinese version at face value and read the passage as evidence of Jaina rather than *ājīvika* presence in Puṇḍravardhana in the first half of the first millennium CE.

This can be corroborated with textual evidence from the Jaina tradition itself. For in Jacobi's paraphrase of the Sthavirāvalī of Bhadrabāhu's Kalpasūtra we read (1884: 288–9):⁴⁸

Ārya Bhadrabāhu of the Prācīna gotra, who had four disciples of the Kāśyapa gotra: a. Godāsa, founder of the Godāsa Gaṇa, which was divided

into four Śākhās: α. The Tāmraliptikā Śākhā, β. The Koṭivarṣiyā Śākhā, γ. The **Puṇḍravardhaniyā** Śākhā, and δ. The Dāsīkharbatikā Śākhā. (b) Agnidatta, (c) Gaṇadatta, (d) Somadatta.

We see here that Jains were known to be settled in ancient Bengal not only at Puṇḍravardhana but also at such important known sites as Tāmralipti and Koṭivarṣa. See the map in Pl. 1.

Payments in cash

The beginning of the petition in the Raktamālā grant #2, reads as follows (ll. 3–5, emended): *ihaviṭhyāṃ paṇyavastuṣu kārṣāpaṇaśatena śāśvatkālo-pabhogyo 'kṣayanīvidharṃeṇa samudayavāhyāpratīkara-khilakṣettrakulyavāpavikrayo 'nuvṛttas.*

Compared to this, the corresponding passage of the Tāvīra grant (ll. 7–8) represents what may be called the standard formula: *ihaviṣaye dvidīnārikyakulyavāpena śāśvatkālo-pabhogyo 'kṣayanīvikhilakṣettravikrayo 'nuvṛttas.* The noteworthy differences are the inclusion of the otherwise unattested word *paṇyavastuṣu* in the former, and the fact that it expresses the value of a *kulyavāpa* of *khilakṣetra* not in *dīnāras*, as do all other grants in the corpus, but in *kārṣāpaṇas*. It is difficult to gauge whether the inclusion of the word *paṇyavastuṣu* implies any significant difference from the transactions recorded in the other grants of the corpus, or whether the translation I have proposed above ('With respect to vendible properties ...'), that implies no such difference, correctly captures its meaning. In the latter case, taking into account that the stated rates per *kulyavāpa* recorded in the corpus are either 2 or 3 *dīnāras*,⁴⁹ while the same amount of land is said here to cost 100 *kārṣāpaṇas*, one gets the impression that the exchange rate between the two currencies would have been between 1:50 and 1:33. Until just a few years ago, the currency unit *kārṣāpaṇa* was not attested in the early epigraphy of Bengal at all (Chattopadhyaya 1977: 57–60); an occurrence then came to light in the Mastakaśvabhra grant issued in Puṇḍravardhana and datable to the range 550–650 CE (l. 12, Griffiths 2015: 30 and 36 n. 34); and the Raktamālā grant #2 now furnishes the

oldest occurrence of the *kārṣāpaṇa* in the history of Bengal.

But this is not its only contribution to the history of the monetary system of this region. For in line 8 and 13 we read that the actual sum that was paid was *anuvṛttāṣṭapaṇakarūpakeṇa rūpakaśatadvayam*. Clearly, the silver *rūpaka* intended here is not the one intended in the Baigram grant, which has been read as implying an exchange rate of 1:16 with the gold *dīnāra*, although it has also been pointed out that comparison of weights of actual specimens of gold and silver coins from Bengal complicate the scenario (Chattopadhyaya 1977: 45–6). The *rūpaka* in our grant seems to have had half the value of the *kārṣāpaṇa*, which would imply an exchange rate with the *dīnāra* between 1:100 and 1:67. And the *rūpaka* intended here seems itself to have been equivalent to 8 *paṇas*. This last exchange rate is attested also in a seventh-century Licchavi inscription from Nepal, the Thankot stela, where one reads in ll. 22–5: *yena kārṣāpaṇan deyan tenāṣṭau paṇā deyā, yenāṣṭau paṇā deya tena paṇacatuṣṭayaṃ mallakare ca paṇacatuṣṭayan deyam* 'One who has to give a *kārṣāpaṇa* should give eight *paṇas*; one who has to give eight *paṇas* should give four of them and four in *malla* tax'.⁵⁰ I find it hard to avoid the impression that our text, when it states *anuvṛttāṣṭapaṇakarūpakeṇa rūpakaśatadvayam*, is also echoing the following stanza from the Arthaśāstra (3.17.15, ed. Kangle 1960–5): *daṇḍakarmasu sarveṣu rūpam aṣṭapaṇaṃ śatam | śatāt pareṣu vyājīm ca vidyāt pañcapaṇaṃ śatam |*, although Olivelle's translation (2013) might suggest otherwise: 'Whenever fines are assessed, one should know that there is an impost of eight Paṇas per 100, and when fines exceed 100, also a surcharge of five Paṇas per 100'.⁵¹ In any case, none of these exchange rates seem to correspond to any of those assembled from disparate sources in Sircar's *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (1966), under his entries *kārṣāpaṇa*, *dīnāra*, *paṇa*, and *rūpaka*.

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NOTES

1. The same private collection also includes what seems to be a new grant of Śaśānka and a new Bhaumakara grant, inscriptions that I hope to publish separately.

2. For an overview of the land-sale grants of Bengal in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, and the historical issues involved, Yamazaki's article (1982) is still unsurpassed, although several new inscriptions of this type have become known since its publication. With Gupta (1989: 272), I understand *khila* to be used in these inscriptions in the technical sense defined in the Nāradaśmṛti, where we read as stanza 11.23: *saṁvatsareṇārdhakhilam khilam tad vatsarais tribhiḥ | pañcavaṣṭāvāsannam tu syāt kṣetram aṭavāsamam* || 'A field which has been fallow for one year is called half-waste, for three years, waste, and after five years it has the (legal) status of jungle' (ed. and trans. Lariviere 1989). For further evidence in support of the supposition that the legal framework of these inscriptions is likely to have reflected a tradition similar to that laid down in the Nāradaśmṛti, see pp. 42–3.

3. With regard to bibliographic references, I should make clear that I have limited myself to English-language publications. In several cases inscriptions were initially published in Bengali-language periodicals, which I have not yet been able to access at the time this article goes to press.

4. This assumption is rendered a virtual certainty by the opening passages of the five Damodarpur plates, which mention the names of the respective ruling Gupta monarchs, although it must be admitted that none of the other inscriptions of the small corpus that concerns us here is explicit about a connection with the Gupta empire. What is remarkable is rather the absence of explicit mention of any monarch, Gupta or otherwise, in most of these inscriptions. See Griffiths 2015: 25.

5. Not yet having been able to visit Rajshahi myself, I owe the information to Ryosuke Furui, who

has repeatedly visited the Museum and photographed all inscriptions that could be shown to him.

6. Ayoub Khan 2007; Sanyal 2010; Sen 2015. Swadhin Sen has furnished coordinates and administrative divisions for the Damodarpur and Baigram plates, whose provenances are among the most securely established of the corpus.

7. I adopt this convenient distinction from a recent monumental publication on the Pallava inscriptions of South India (Francis 2013–17, II: 422 n. 4): 'On nomme les tablettes soit d'après le nom du village dont elles enregistrent la donation (« X grant », « charte de X »), soit d'après leur lieu de découverte (« X copperplates », « tablettes de X »). D'autres tablettes sont nommées d'après le lieu de conservation, telles les tablettes *cōla* de Leiden. Il arrive dès lors que certaines tablettes soient nommées dans la littérature secondaire de plusieurs façons. Ainsi les tablettes de Guṇapadēya (IR 4) sont aussi désignées comme les tablettes du British Museum ou de Cārudevī (d'après le nom de la donatrice).' For more detailed consideration of the issue of epigraphic nomenclature, and arguments in favour of a system that relies on names internal to the epigraphic documents, I refer to the excellent work published, also in French, by Louis-Charles Damais (1952: 7–9, §18–25) on the epigraphy of ancient Indonesia, a case that is in all relevant aspects analogous to that of ancient India and Bangladesh.

8. On this technology and its archaeological applications, see <http://culturalheritageimaging.org/Technologies/RTI/> (accessed 19/04/2018) and Earl et al. 2010.

9. There may have been one akṣara before *lavi*. If so, the akṣaras *lavi* would be the second and third of the *agrahāra*'s name.

10. The *paramabhaṭṭāraka* in the plate Raktamālā #1 is identifiable as Budhagupta (Griffiths 2015: 25). Note the absence of *parama-* here. Since Budhagupta's predecessors were also referred to as *bhaṭṭārakapādāh*,

no definitive conclusion can be drawn from the usage of this title here with regard to the reign in which this inscription was issued.

11. Yamazaki (1982: 25), R. Chakravarti (1996: 190) and other scholars have cited a stanza from the Nāradaśmṛti (11.37) in the context of interpretations of the important word *kuṭumbin* as ‘peasant (householder)’: *grhaṁ kṣetraṁ ca vijñeyam vāsahetuḥ kuṭumbinām | tasmāt tan nākṣipeda rājā tad dhi mūlam kuṭumbinām |* ‘The house and the field are what the family lives on; therefore the king should not disturb them since they are the foundation of the family’ (ed. and transl. Lariviere 1989). But the textual material assembled by Ritschl and Schetelich (1976), which shows that the word is often used in connection with ownership and supports the translation as ‘landholder’ favoured here, has unfortunately been ignored in most English-language scholarship.

12. A fuller expression *pañcamahāyajñaprawarttanāya mātāpitror anugraheṇa* ‘for the purpose of the regular performance of the five great sacrifices for the (spiritual) benefit of (his) mother and father’ is found in the grant Raktamālā #1, l. 9. The ritual services expected from the Brahmin beneficiary are left implicit here.

13. On the coin terms, see p. 50.

14. In the parallel passage in Raktamālā grant #1 (l. 21), I have interpreted *ito* as meaning ‘for this reason’ (Griffiths 2015: 23), but I now doubt whether this was correct. It may refer instead to one of the places fixed in the preceding clauses, in which case the meaning could be that the division and demarcation are to be carried out from that place, whether as starting point of a measurement process that proceeds step by step, or in the sense of demarcating X from Y. Another possibility is that *ito* refers to the village as a whole.

15. When editing the Raktamālā grant #1 (l. 21), I tentatively read *naitika*, but noted that *nītika* was also a possible reading (Griffiths 2015: 22, 23, and 35 n. 18). Based on better photographs that I was able to make in 2017, I now consider that the reading is indeed *nītika* there, and this also seems to be the reading in the present grant, although its poor state of conservation makes it hard to be sure. I retain the tentative translation ‘governmental’ proposed in 2015.

16. I owe these photos to a source who wishes to remain anonymous.

17. Cf. the name of the *uparika* Cīrātadatta in Damodarapur #1.

18. I initially thought that *gu[ha]-* could be read at the end of l. 4, in which case we would have had here

the same name as that of the Brahmin beneficiary Guhadāman of this grant—and a possible case of beneficiary’s membership of council. But it now seems unlikely to me that the last legible akṣara on l. 4 is *gu*.

19. The use of future verb forms where we might expect imperatives is rather common in these inscriptions. Cf. the forms *dāsyatha* and *anupālayisyatha* in the citation from the Baigram plate in §3.2, and, from a similar context, *dāsyatha ... anupālayisyasi* in the Raktamālā grant #1, ll. 21–2 (with disagreement of number, see Griffiths 2015: 19); see also *viditam bo bhaviṣyati* (i.e. *viditam vo bhaviṣyati*) in the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur plate, ll. 2–3. On this usage, see Oberlies 2003, §6.2.9.

20. The term X-*prāveśya*-Y in cadastral contexts indicates that Y is part of the larger unit X. See the glossary in Schmiedchen forthcoming.

21. This rather surprising toponym seems to mean ‘lotus (*abja*) – shore (*taṭa*) – leave (*aḥagaccha*)’.

22. Cf. the Madhyamaṣaṇḍika *vīthi* of the Raktamālā grants (see inscription no. 1, pp. 25–30).

23. The syntactic position of the genitive *mama* is not transparent. It is found in a comparable context also in the Tāvira plate, l. 8. Is it the indirect object with *dātum*? This is implied by Sircar’s explanation (1965: 288 n. 7) *mama*=*mahyam* on the Dhanaidaha plate, l. 8 (inspection of the published facsimile shows that we must read *mamāpy anenaiva* instead of the reading *mamādyānenaiva* found in all publications so far), but this text is too fragmentary to be helpful. Anyhow, that solution does not seem to work here and in the Tāvira plate. Could it be construed with *pravarttana*? But one rather expects that the venerable Arhants should be the agents of the *pravarttana*. Perhaps we have contamination from such contexts as Damodarapur #1, ll. 6–9 (emended) *brāhmaṇakarppaṭikena vijñāpitam arhatha mamāgnihotropayogāya apradāprahatakhilakṣetraṁ tridīnārikyakulyāvāpena śasvadācandrārkkatārahabhogyaḥkṣayanīvīdharmeṇa dātum*.

24. I tentatively presume that this second quotation terminated by *iti* still forms part of the petition that began in l. 3.

25. Note that this toponym, also found in the Baigram plate, here takes the place of Madhyamaśṛgālikā.

26. http://museumsofindia.gov.in/repository/record/im_kol-A20050-9085-18. Accessed in May 2018.

27. See Sircar 1966: 120–1, and Olivelle 2013: 632 on Arthaśāstra 4.4.9.

28. Using normal search *goal/gohal/gohali* and wildcard search **goal/gohal/gohali* on the India Place Finder

<http://india.csis.u-tokyo.ac.jp> (set for West Bengal) and the Global Place Finder <http://newspat.csis.u-tokyo.ac.jp/gpf/> (set for Bangladesh) I have found only one place-name where *goal* is second element (Argoal in Medinipur district) and one toponym where *gohali* is in second place (there are two villages Gandagohali, one near Rajshahi and the second near Noagaon); by contrast, there are many where *goal/gohal/gohali* is the first element as in Goalbhita, which is still findable today.

29. See Turner 1966, nos. 4334 (*gośālā*) and 4336 (*goṣṭha*).

30. Cf. Gupta 1996: 576.

31. N.G. Majumdar and subsequent scholars accepted here the improbable reading *caturddīnīyami-tasamīmānari*.

32. Predecessors have assumed Darvikarma was a proper noun, and that it designated the person after whom the standard had taken its name (cf. Gupta 1996: 575). I am agnostic about what the term meant, but in the absence of strong arguments in support of such an assumption, I prefer to translate literally.

33. According to the title page of *EI* volume 21, the responsible editors were Hirananda Sastri, K.N. Dikshit and N.P. Chakravarti.

34. These translated stanzas seem to correspond to the following in the Bṛhaspatismṛti as reconstructed by K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (1941), *Vyavahārikāṇḍa*, chapter 19, pp. 159–62:

kṛayavikṛayānuśaye vidhir eṣa pradarśitaḥ |
grāmakṣetragṛhādīnām śimāvādām nibodhata || 1 || |
nīveśakāle kartavyaḥ sūmābandhaviniścayaḥ |
prakāśopāmśucihnaiś ca lakṣitaḥ samśayāpahāḥ || 7 || |
vāpikūpataḍgāni caityārāmasurālayāḥ | 8cd |
sthalanimnanadīśrotāḥ śaragulmanagādayaḥ |
prakāśacihnāny etāni śimāyām kārayet sadā || 9 || |
nīhitāni tathānyāni yāni bhūmir na bhakṣayet | 17ab |
karīśāsthituṣāṅgāraśarkarāśmakapālikāḥ | 20ab |
sikateṣṭakagobālakārpāsāsthīni bhasma ca | 20cd |
prakṣīpya kumbheṣv etāni śimānteṣu nidhāpayet | 21ab |

On these stanzas, see Renou 1962–3: 99–100.

35. Sanyal (2010: 124) attempts to anchor the plates to the area where they were found by citing a village Kotpada in the Dantan P.S. of West Medinipur District, but forgets that the ancient toponym to which this would, in his theory, correspond, was read Kecakapadrika by Sircar (1983: 25), in place of Ketakapadrika read by Majumdar. This weakens Sanyal's hypothesis that 'Kotpada is in all probability the corrupt form of the name Kētakapadrika', which, in my opinion, was already improbable to begin with. On the archaeological and epigraphic material from

this area of West Bengal, and the historical issues involved, see also some papers in *The Chitrolekha Journal on Art and Design*, vol. 4 (1), 2014 <http://chitrolekha.com/v4n1/>.

36. This raises the question of the meanings of the terms *viśaya* ('district') and *vīthī* (here translated as 'division'). D.C. Sircar was inclined early on (1943: 15–16) to consider the latter a subdivision of the former, but was less explicit in subsequent publications (1965: 360 n. 1, 1966: 379–80), apparently admitting also the possibility that the *vīthī* was a territorial unit of the same level as the *viśaya*. Chattopadhyaya (1990: 39–42) appears to work under this assumption, but does not make his thoughts on the matter explicit.

37. See Morrison 1970: 86–7, table 6 (where the Damodarpur plate #4 is curiously omitted) and Gupta (1989: 276) for indications of the quantities of land donated in the grants that were known respectively by the late 1960s and late 1980s.

38. On these issues, see the discussion of Morrison (1970: 85–90).

39. This word is obtained by emendation. The plate itself calls him *jāmātya*, which is not interpretable without editorial intervention.

40. I only realised when most other pieces had fallen into place that the Prakrit equivalent *khamaṇa* is recorded in the *Illustrated Ardhamagadhi Dictionary*, vol. 2: 553.

41. Sircar read *-vī[th]yā mecikāmrāsiddhāyatane*. No word *mecikā* is known, whereas *pecikā* is a known word, designating a kind of owl.

42. See the paper by A.N. Upadhye 'Pañcastūpānaya', originally published in the *Karnataka Historical Review* 7 (1–2), 1948, and included in the same scholar's volume of papers (Upadhye 1983: 279–83). See also Shah 1987: 16, with notes 82–5.

43. This is perhaps a fact too well known to require a bibliographic reference. Nevertheless, I may refer to Schubring 2000, §137.

44. The angle brackets indicate restorations of elements omitted in the text, after Bakker 2006: 182 n. 9 and 2010: 463 n. 12, whose translation I also adopt with only minor modifications. However, for the reading *cellaka-* I differ from Bakker, and from Willis (2009: 333 n. 277), who believe the reading cannot be anything else than *celūka*. In my opinion, reading *-lla-* is perfectly possible in view of the estampage published in Bhandarkar 1981 (pl. V A) and expected in the light of the argument brought forward by Dundas (2014: 239 n. 16), while a dignitary named Cellaka is attested in the Mastakaśvabhra plate, l. 2 (Griffiths 2015: 29).

45. For more details on this rule, see Schubring (2000: 272, §154): ‘The alms, above all, must not be prepared in advance, neither for receivers of alms in general (*āhākamma*) nor for him personally who is expected to ask for them (*uddesiya*), no more than they may be sent for (*abhi-haḍa*) or bought (*kīya-gaḍa*) or set aside from one’s own meal (*ceiya* K. 2, 25–28, Dasā 2, 4, Nis. 10, 4, Āyār. I 36, 20, II 50, 20; Dasav. 3, 2).’

46. Admittedly, I have so far identified no clearer expression of this idea than the following passages translated from the Āyāraṅgasutta (Jacobi 1884: 81): ‘The sage, perceiving the double (*karman*), proclaims the incomparable activity, he, the knowing one; knowing the current of worldliness, the current of sinfulness, and the impulse, (15) Practising the sinless abstinence from killing, he did no acts, neither himself nor with the assistance of others; he to whom women were known as the causes of all sinful acts, he saw (the true state of the world). (16)’ In his note on ‘double (*karman*)’, Jacobi explains the meaning to be present and future, presumably based on the commentary. But in another passage, translated by Jacobi (1884) on pp. 32–3, we read: ‘There is no past thing, nor is there a future one; So opine the Tathāgatas. He whose *karman* has ceased and conduct is right, who recognises the truth (stated above) and destroys sinfulness (thinks): What is discontent and what is pleasure? not subject to either, one should live; Giving

up all gaiety, circumspect and restrained, one should lead a religious life.’

47. Several of the elements from Nāgavasu’s grant analysed so far find significant parallels in the epigraphic data from Jaina epigraphy in South India assembled in Schmiedchen (2018), with regard to the purposes specified in such grants and the importance of teacher-disciple lines.

48. I have standardised the transliteration system. The corresponding passage in the same scholar’s 1879 edition of the text is found on pp. 78–9.

49. In all of the Damodarpur plates that contain a relevant statement, i.e. 4 out of 5 (only #3 lacking an explicit statement), the price of one *kulyavāpa* is 3 *dīnāras*; in all other inscriptions of the corpus that contain a statement, the price is 2 *dīnāras*.

50. Ed. and transl. (into French) Lévi 1905–8, vol. III: 102–9 (no. XVI); ed. Gnoli 1956 (no. LVI); ed. and transl. (into Nepali) Vajrācārya 1973: 433–7 (no. 115).

51. The note (p. 620) on ‘impost’ reads: ‘This must be some sort of fee related to the inspection of the coins used to pay the fine. ...’. My impression is that Olivelle’s translation for this stanza basically follows Kangle’s previous translation. The absence of significant annotation may mean that neither scholar was really sure about the interpretation of the stanza.

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